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FBIS-EEU-89-002 CONTENTS *4 January 1989*

BULGARIA

Zhivkov's Speech at Politburo Meeting *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 29 Dec]* 1
Press Editorials Comment on Zhivkov Speech *[BTA]* 12
Zhivkov Meets Diplomatic Corps on New Year *[BTA]* 12
Emil Khristov Leads Delegation to Phnom Penh *[Sofia Radio]* 13
Greetings Message Sent on KPD Anniversary *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 30 Dec]* 13
Relations With Albania Seen Improving *[POGLED No 1]* 13
Denial Made of Reports on Theft of Technology *[BTA]* 14
Vienna CSCE Prospects Assessed *[NARODNA ARMIYA 23 Dec]* 14
Turkish Family Seeks Political Asylum *[NARODNA MLADEZH 3 Jan]* 16

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jakes FRG TV Interview Rebroadcast *[Prague TV]* 17
    Interview Corrected *[Prague TV]* 21
Fojtik Speaks on Restructuring at Media Gathering 21
Pan Am Crash Investigation Discussed *[Bratislava PRAVDA 2 Jan]* 21
    More on Search *[ROLNICKE NOVINY 2 Jan]* 22
World Youth Festival Participation Viewed *[SMENA 2 Jan]* 22
Entry Visas Granted at Four Border Crossings *[CTK]* 23
    Further Reportage *[Hamburg DPA]* 23
Koruna's One-Tier Exchange Rate Announced *[VECERNI PRAHA 23 Dec]* 23
    Tourists To Pay Surcharge *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 28 Dec]* 23

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker Greets PLO's Yasir 'Arafat *[ADN]* 24
Hager Speaks at Moscow KPD Anniversary *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Dec]* 24
People's Auditing Committee Elections in Progress *[ADN]* 25
Leaders' Public Appearances for 21-27 Dec 25

HUNGARY

Berecz, Poszgay, Others on 1988 Highlights *[Budapest Radio]* 26
Hungarian Democratic Forum Proposes Refugee Camp *[MTI]* 35
Independent Weekly To Be Published *[MTI]* 35
Construction, Transportation Ministries Merge *[Budapest Radio]* 35

POLAND

Siwicki Interviewed on Changes in Army *[PAP]* 36
Politburo 10th Plenum Theses Published *[TRYBUNA LUDU 17-18 Dec]* 37
Olechowski Interviewed on 1989 Goals *[PAP]* 62
Council of State on People's Councils *[PAP]* 63
New Regulations on People's Councils Explained *[PAP]* 63
Biographies of New Politburo Members *[TRYBUNA LUDU 22 Dec]* 64
Messner, Others Take Part in Newspaper Poll *[PAP]* 65
Solidarity 'Militants' Criticise Walesa *[AFP]* 66
Science, Culture Groups Ask for Free Elections *[Vatican City]* 66
Confidence in Government, Support for Solidarity *[Warsaw TV]* 66
Satellite Communication System Expanded *[PAP]* 66
New Telephone Rates Postponed Until 1 Jan *[PAP]* 67
Foreign Telecommunications Price Rises *[PAP]* 67

Ciosek Meets With PAP Party Organizations *[PAP]* 67
Czyrek Speaks in Belorussia on Anniversary *[PAP]* 67
Polish-American Congress Aims Questioned *[PAP]* 67
Entry Visas for Holy See Passport Holders Lifted *[PAP]* 68
Leaders Congratulate Cuba on Anniversary *[PAP]* 68
Jaruzelski Receives Envoy to USSR *[PAP]* 68
Rakowski Receives Polish Envoys *[PAP]* 68

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Cables 'Arafat on Revolution Day *[AGERPRES]* 69
Solidarity With Struggle of Palestinians Noted *[AGERPRES]* 69
400 Persons Killed While Fleeing Country *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 30 Dec]* .. 69
Ceausescu Sends Message to Algerian President *[SCINTEIA 27 Dec]* 70
1989 Socioeconomic Development Plan Reviewed *[AGERPRES]* 70
Second Stage of Pay Increases Ends *[AGERPRES]* 71
Leaders' Public Appearances 25-31 Dec *[AGERPRES]* 71

YUGOSLAVIA

PRC's Qian Qichen Arrives, Met by Loncar *[Zagreb Radio]* 72
Sundic Views Yugoslav-Chinese Relations *[Zagreb Radio]* 72
'Mikulic's Fall' Viewed as 'Turning Point' *[Buvac in DELO 31 Dec]* 72
Vojvodina Citizens Hold Protest Meeting *[TANJUG]* 74
Leaders of Demonstrations Sentenced *[TANJUG]* 74

Zhivkov's Speech at Politburo Meeting

AU0301172889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Dec 88 pp 1, 2, 3

["Concluding Speech" by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at the 19-22 December meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, "that discussed measures on implementing the decisions of the BCP Central Committee December 1988 Plenum": "About Some Assessments and Conclusions Related to the BCP Central Committee December Plenum and the Measures Necessary for Implementing Its Decision"]

[Text] Comrades, at the previous Politburo meeting we began a dialogue on the importance of the recent BCP Central Committee plenum and the trends and tasks related to implementing its decisions. We exchanged opinions on many vitally important issues. Constructive recommendations were made concerning our further activity along the entire front of restructuring.

Bearing all this in mind I shall present certain considerations, in which without claiming to have exhausted all issues, I shall try:
—to summarize the opinions and proposals expressed during our discussion;
—to stress the most decisive points in our assessment of the plenum, and mainly, to point out the guiding principles of our further practical activity related to implementing the July strategy on restructuring our society.

I.

Without exaggerating, we could perhaps say that the BCP Central Committee December Plenum is now a **central event** of our sociopolitical life. This event focused on all the issues that stimulate our society.
—The attitude toward the plenum, and especially toward its results, to a certain degree became **an indication of the people's mood and their attitude toward restructuring, its progress, and its results.**
—This fact itself shows that **the theme of restructuring** increasingly enters **our everyday life** and **our development.**

In the present political situation we must note this approach in assessing things. It is also true that in the past we have not been indifferent to the fact of whether and to what degree a certain idea reached the consciousness of the people's masses. **At the same time, it is also true that we were slaves of a so-called economic determinism.** We imagined that it sufficed to create objective conditions, and that these conditions, one way or another, changed the people's consciousness.
—This never or almost never happened in practice, not only because time was short, but because we did not succeed in asserting the necessary changes under the objective conditions.
—How to present the general ideas and principles of a revolutionary transformation in concepts that are clear and attractive to the people is no less important.
—I would like to recall Lenin's thought that the road from principles to practical policy is complex and contradictory. We ourselves experienced this the hard way.

While assessing the importance of the plenum we have no reason to think that the very fact of holding the plenum means that we have achieved the necessary turning point in social consciousness, especially in the consciousness of the individual man and worker. The changes in social consciousness will not be achieved quickly, let alone easily. **This will be a long marathon of searches, attacks, and occasionally retreats.**

However, if unjustified enthusiasm is dangerous in this sphere, skepticism is even more dangerous.
—The plenum again and again convinced us that finding the **correct direction, road, and catalyst** which will lead us away from indifference, is a decisive factor in a cause such as restructuring.

As you know, the plenum and its structure and agenda have not been publicized a priori. However, the evidently great interest toward it cannot be explained as a result of surprise, but rather **by the nature of the problems** that were discussed and by the **decisions** adopted by the BCP Central Committee.

Along with other factors, this shows on the one hand how pressing the necessity was to convene such a forum, and on the other hand that a successful manner of conducting this forum was found.

This is the **first consideration** that we must stress while assessing the plenum.

The second consideration is connected with the response to the plenum. It shows that the **ideas of restructuring** increasingly occupy the public consciousness, the consciousness of the people's broad masses.
—The first reactions convince us that the plenum and its premises will have exceptional importance in this direction.
—The people are relying very much on the December plenum. They expect results. Furthermore, the great majority of the people believe that these results will come.

The other side of the issue relates to the assessment of the plenum from the viewpoint of our program on developing the restructuring processes.

We will allow a mistake to happen if things are brought down to merely analyzing the plenum as another link in the chain of events since the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum. This must be remembered against the background of the fact that at first glance the idea to convene the plenum was not connected with the preliminary design of the immediate present tasks.

The significant facts in this case are:

—The plenum was not only an event that occupies a special place in the **chronology** of restructuring.
—It is the **expression** of a certain **logic** and the **natural law tendencies** that characterize the processes of renewal.

This point is exceptionally important from political and practical perspectives.

The December plenum indeed has a place in the very core of the July Concept and the core of restructuring that has been developing since the BCP Central Committee July Plenum.
—The idea of producing a "special impetus" which will give the green light to our concept in all spheres of public life—an idea developed during the initial stage after the July plenum, independently of the changes which were then carried out with great elan.
—Because of many objective and subjective reasons, this task was not fully implemented. Important issues were discussed at the November plenum and the BCP National Conference; however, the main issue was not resolved.

—Nevertheless, the search continued. We carefully studied both our experience and the experience of the other socialist countries—most importantly in the USSR.
—Real life posed, with increasing force, the issue of "cutting through" the knot of problems.
—At the December plenum we adopted decisions that represent a significant contribution in this direction.

Consequently, the December plenum had its own objective logic, which was searching for a way to express itself. This expression has already been found in certain very important points.

As far as the plenum's discussion is involved, I think that we can generally be satisfied.
—The overwhelming majority of those who spoke at the plenum **understood** that we are heading toward a revolutionary turning point, and that we are fully determined to strengthen the processes of restructuring.
—The Central Committee **supported** the position of the Politburo.

II.

Now, after the plenum, there is no more important task than the one to broadly deploy our forces—according to all the rules of the attack—in order to practically resolve the issues.
—Our slogan in this sphere is: work and struggle, deeds and only deeds.
—Today it is hardly prudent to defend any other position or point of view.

Simultaneously, both the plenum and the manner in which we are now preparing to implement its decisions require us to analyze several **fundamental considerations.**
—They affect **the essence** of our actions after the July plenum, actions that must be incorporated in the **foundation** of all practical measures related to our further work.

The first consideration pertains to the fact that, under the present circumstances, we cannot expect the revolutionary enthusiasm of the past to repeat itself. We cannot expect the same enthusiasm, as that which characterized the era of the October Revolution, or the period of our 9 September 1944 revolution. We cannot even expect the situation of the 1956 April Plenum to repeat itself.
—The specific historical conditions were different in those days. They objectively determined the slogans which inspired the people's masses to action.
—The main characteristic feature of the present revolutionary changes stems from the objective situation in which we have to live and work, today, under new historical circumstances and factors.

The permanent expansion of man's creative potential, of all people's creative strength, is the decisive factor in the course of building our new society.
—We can say that the aforementioned factors represent one of the most important **general sociological lawsin** our society.
—Another, quite different question is the one pertaining to the fact that this law manifests itselfin **different forms,** and that it is being implemented through **specific** forms and methods at different stages of development.

As a result of all this, the problem today is not to apply the slogans with which we used to mobilize the working people in the past, but to consider the present realities and, on this basis, to overcome the people's alienation from the means of production, as well as to stimulate their social activities and their interest in implementing the restructuring process.

We should further clarify several questions in this connection:

1. **It is evident that we cannot inspire the working people to engage in their new tasks by constantly referring to the criticism of shortcomings committed in the past.**
—We do not underestimate the self-analysis of our past development, since it is impossible to advance further without such analysis.
—This analysis was started as early as at the 1987 July Plenum. We will further pursue this process in the future because it is a necessity.
—Nevertheless, we are now facing tasks of constructive work in all spheres. These tasks are related to our search for effective methods in resolving current problems.

The problem is not to give up the positions and achievements of socialism as a new social system, but to renew it and make it more dynamic and more vital, more attractive for the broad people's masses.

2. **In the course of preparation for the December plenum we thoroughly discussed the conditions under which socialist revolution achieved its victory in our countries.**

The victory of socialist revolution was mainly achieved in backward countries, in countries with a relatively low level of productive forces and a poorly educated workers class.

—This fact had a decisive impact upon the throes of the creation of our new society, and definitely influenced its difficulties and unresolved problems.

It would be incorrect to underestimate the personal role played by leaders of the past. Nevertheless, we cannot explain the entire course of history by the "bad will" of one or the other politician. It is necessary to consider the objective historical circumstances, the objective laws and logical developments, the natural evolutionary periods of various processes, and the inherent opportunities for the solution of problems.

—One of the conclusions resulting from such considerations is that a new political consciousness is not sufficient to involve the people's masses in the restructuring process.

—We should take the main causes for the existing difficulties along the path of our new society as our points of departure. We cannot advance further unless we cover this part of our road.

3. **It is also necessary to consider the fact that socialism, as a new social system, does not stay in one place, that it is developing, and generating new problems along its path.**

—Each new stage in the development of socialism results in new contradictions and poses new problems.

We can be certain, for example, that within 10-15 years our society will undergo a new revolutionary reform, in which dialectical negation will result in a further, higher stage of development for our society.

—We are now applying a number of management methods which stem from the life experience of all mankind, including that of advanced capitalist countries.

However, at the same time we should be clearly aware of the fact that some of these forms will no longer be useful in the future and will have to be replaced.

—This is precisely why the process of searching for and applying new approaches and solutions should become a task of primary importance.

What is the main problem for us, in light of the recent December plenum?

The main problem poses the following requirements:

—On the one hand, it is necessary to **eliminate** everything that represents an obstacle for us at the present stage of development; on the other hand, we are required to **implement a series of decisions**, which as the saying goes, will enable us to reach the heart of the matter. **This means that we should achieve the new historical essence that is developing in the contemporary world under the conditions existing in our country—a problem which we have already discussed.**

—We are facing the task to master all rational assets which contemporary civilization all over the world has achieved.

—In this respect our cooperation with the socialist countries, and with the Soviet Union, in particular, will continue to be a matter of first- rate importance—in the future as well.

—We greatly rely on our integration within CEMA and on our joint efforts for its implementation.

—It is also necessary, at the present stage of development, to broadly assimilate new technologies and to master management experience, as well as to acquire all intellectual values of a universal nature which are developing in advanced Western countries.

—Without the adaptation of all these assets in a dialectical form, in accordance with the basic values of our socialist society, we cannot advance further, we cannot build our modern, material-technical base.

I repeat: We must contribute our share to the development of our society, without trying to skip over given phases or stages of development.

All these factors should be considered in our socioeconomic, scientific-technical, and cultural policy, in our work devoted to the intellectual and ideological development of millions of people and to the education of our cadres, as well as in the work of the mass media and in the activities of those engaged in ideological tasks.

—This is so because it is well known that the aforementioned strategy is bound to encounter numerous obstacles in the form of stereotyped cliches and outdated concepts.

—A major segment of our cadres and of our society is unprepared to understand and to implement in practice this approach of opening up to the modern civilization of all advanced countries.

—In this connection we expect to meet contradictions and to face a struggle between new and old elements; we should even expect resistance, if you please.

Nevertheless, in talking about the requirement for a new approach to these questions, we are not only far from renouncing socialist principles and ideals, and we are not only far from renouncing our ethics. On the contrary, we are creating conditions for the true implementation of these principles and for the consolidation of the positions of socialism and of our socialist democracy.

Can we describe the basic elements of these principles?

In the first place, **the role of the socialist state, which will become a state composed of self-managing communities, is one of the basic elements in this respect.**

—The state will, so to speak, be increasingly incorporated into all spheres of our society. I am saying that it will be "incorporated," because we will inexorably eliminate the old hierarchy. The state will be incorporated into our economy, and into our intellectual life, as well as into all other spheres of activities.

This is one problem.

The second problem is related to the fact that we are building a new type of democracy.

I have in mind the fact that we have based our concept of restructuring upon the postulate about the necessity of creating a viable, **civic society** under self-management conditions. In pursuing the goal of building socialist society we intend to implement the following measures:
—To grant **the greatest power to the peoplein** their places of residence and in their workplaces, thus expanding their self-managing qualities and their self-initiative, as well as their rights and responsibilities which enable them to cope with many issues—issues which to this point have previously been resolved in higher places.
—To create **new types of organizations**, involving millions of people (we are talking about self-managing organizations), which should be the only authorities on basic economic, social, political, and intellectual issues at their own level.
—To release the people's **political activities** so that their word may carry weight, if you permit me to use this expression, and so that they may have their own say in adopting decisions, in controlling the implementation of these decisions, in holding referendums, in exercising the right to hold every organ and its employees responsible, and so forth.

This is how management will be implemented, not only in the people's **name**, but also **through** the people; this is how democracy will be implemented on a large scale; this is how humanitarianism, socialist pluralism, glasnost, the principle of electivity, and others will be widely applied.

I also have in mind the broad expansion of the "second nature" of civic society: **social organizations, movements, and voluntary [samodeyni] associations** which will function as full-fledged partners and as opponents, and will represent a powerful lever in expanding the working people's independent [samodeynost] activities.

This is the second problem:

The third problem is related to the fact that we are completely restructuring our society on the basis of the law as the supreme expression of our people's will.
—In this respect we are fundamentally restructuring our entire legal superstructure.
—We should overcome the erroneous idea that social life can be organized outside the law, that the leading and guiding role of the party can replace the law.

As a result of all this, in resolving all three aforementioned problems on the basis of coordination, we are creating the necessary conditions for a further, intensified democratization in the interest of man.
—Man, precisely, is called on to play the main role in the sphere of labor, in the sphere of the political superstructure, in management, and in resolving social issues.

III.

The basic ideas and postulates which made up the essence of our plenum were already adopted by our party and people.

In this connection the question arises **what should be the determining factor of our practical work in the forthcoming period?**

This is a legitimate question in view of the following considerations:
—Considering the fact that the decisions of the December plenum pertain to **all spheres** at the basis and in the superstructure of our social system;
—Considering that these are decisions of a **long-term nature** and that their implementation in practice will proceed in various stages, with priority being given to the main problems at one or the other stage of development, as well by ensuring consistency in implementing the respective changes;
—Considering the requirement of promoting the standards, the power to act, and the responsibility of the

The unmistakable postulate about the essential factors contained in the decisions adopted at the aforementioned December plenum will protect us against the danger of wasting our efforts, of starting with questions that should be treated in the final stage, and so forth.
—From the point of view of these principles we should work out an

—It is required to engage in the solution of the urgent problems in all spheres and sectors which are of crucial importance for the progress of restructuring at the present stage of development.

—The December plenum earned credit in developing a comprehensive practical platform for the intensification of the restructuring process in the economic sphere.
—This applies, in a more specific way, to the postulate about the company-based form of organization, which, as we are all convinced, will play a role of decisive importance.

Let us examine the questions that should be treated on a priority basis in this respect, with a view to their practical solution.

1.

This means that the establishment of a company-based management organization in the economic sector should be linked to the implementation of the following tasks:
—the task of structural and technological renewal;
—the task of developing a new technological production method;
—the task of introducing a new system of economic regulators; and others.

It is necessary to explain the importance of this approach at the present moment. This not only applies to the importance of the approach in question but also to the fact that the most favorable opportunities for its practical application are available at the present moment.
—If we should miss these opportunities, we will continue to face circumstances likely to impede our further progress and to create considerable difficulties along our path.

Last, but not least, we should achieve our main goal: How to inspire man with enthusiasm, how to combine the individual worker's labor performance with his own interests.

This was the core and essence of our plenum. These are the tasks that have to be accomplished today.

I think that the solution of this fundamental question of theory and practice, along with all other things, makes it necessary to treat the question of widely relying on the external factor in developing the company-based form of organization on a priority basis, namely to take advantage of the opportunities made available by our foreign economic relations.

We are talking about a postulate of **decisive** importance for the entire reproduction process, for the progress of restructuring in the economic and other spheres. There is even more, because if we should allow any misunderstanding, or underestimating of the problem in this case, we would commit a grave mistake.

What do I have in mind?
—At the plenum we explained with strong arguments the urgency and role of company-based organization. The same evaluation was expressed in connection with the requirement for a new approach in the development of our international economic cooperation.

At the same time, if we carefully analyze certain statements made at the plenum and at the National Assembly session, we will see that the international factor is still considered as a specific "complementing" and "concomitant" factor in our economic development. **The necessity of a synthesis between the postulate of company-based organization and the principle of enhancing the role of the foreign economic relations factor is neither sought, nor observed, nor revealed.**
—An incorrect idea has developed, namely, that we should now build up companies and subsequently and gradually "put the foreign relations factor into operation" both in the development of our companies, as well as in the functioning of our entire economy.
—This will result in a gradual degeneration of companies even before they have been established.

We should categorically adhere to the thesis that we cannot implement the principle of company-based organization and cannot develop viable forms of organization unless we introduce the "external" factor as a basic element of these forms of organization.

Naturally, the companies are entitled to seek credits for their development through international cooperation, to resolve their problems by importing goods, technologies, and raw materials, as well as by finding new places on international markets for their final products.

The main thing, however, is that the external factor should be integrated in the development of each new company structure, that this factor should be integrated and incorporated as a technological element, as a form of experience and knowledge, as an intellectual asset, and as a form of management skill.
—To put it briefly: Foreign economic relations, production sharing, merging of capital, and import of "grey matter" in organization and production should represent irreplacable assets and guidelines for each company.

At the same time, certain economic leaders today think that companies based on the monopolistic positions of the past, based on the existing structures, and the national economic priorities should be established in their respective sectors.
—Such considerations and approaches, however, are likely to promote the development of one company or another at the expense of ruining other branches and sectors.

All these problems can be resolved by immediately starting to develop a **structural model of economy.** This should enable us to gain time and avoid tremendous expenditures in economic development.
—By the end of the first half of 1989 we should clarify the current problems and adopt specific programs for the further development of electronics, heavy investment machine building, and agriculture.
—The establishment of free zones should be accelerated.

It is evident that all these problems will be resolved if we cope with them on the basis of a synthesis of the two aforementioned postulates—namely, company-based organization and foreign economic cooperation.

2. **On the basis of the hitherto accomplished preparations in all places, where conditions are ripe and the necessary developments have been submitted, we should start with the establishment of company-based organization.**
—Such preparations and adaptations have already been accomplished in the spheres of electronics, and in chemical and biotechnological industry, and several problems have been clarified in light industry and in certain other sectors in this respect.

In other words, we are now able to engage in practical work and to build up the basic structures of the company-based organization in the most important sectors of our national economy within no less than 1-2 months.

—We will simultaneously observe the requirement for gradual construction and the fact that we are now involved in a transitional stage of development as regards the compilation of plans in enterprises. The further offensive along the entire economic front and in other spheres of activity should be accomplished according to the stage of preparation in individual economic units.

This leads to the following conclusions:

—In the present transitional period we should adopt new forms of organization only in those sectors where the processes are ripe for this;

—As to all the other spheres, we should preserve the existing forms of organization, but gradually transform them in their essence.

This is how the transition to company-based organization will remain smooth and will not degenerate into a formalistic, organizational campaign.

3. **The following factors deserve our attention:**

—As to the basic economic sectors, only organizations **capable of developing themselves** on the basis of international cooperation and domestic activities by using all opportunities for forming associations, as well as for attracting, and in certain cases, even for exporting capital, should be developed as companies.

—We should by no means establish pseudocompanies which, as in the past, will rely heavily on the state and on other commodity producers.

—Companies should be established and develop **in conditions of competition** on a domestic and international scale, by eliminating any kind of monopolism and all privileges whatsoever, especially in the case of large commodity producers.

—The state should be entitled to conduct negotiations with the companies for the goods they are expected to produce in order to cover the needs of the domestic markets and for nationwide agreements with other countries.

—Except for this, in all further activities the companies should resolve their own problems, at their own expense, along the entire front—from supplying raw materials to searching for credits and capital, as well as in conducting activities related to marketing.

All **dialogues** and **specifications,** that are to be conducted by the competent state organs along with the economic organizations on issues related to wholesale prices, commissions, and so forth, must end in all cases **by the end of January, or in separate cases, by the beginning of February.**

It is namely in the course of this specification that the state requirements from each company, and the quotas it sets in the forms of state commissions, shares of the profit, and limitations and conditions of international cooperation, must be clarified.

During this period we must construct the foundations of the new mechanism of plan implementation, mutual relations between the state and the companies, and assert the company-based organization in foreign trade.

—The competent organs of the government must decide how to organize and conduct these processes, and whether and to what degree to incorporate in these processes the associations and other organizations.

However, we must introduce the new forms and mechanisms in such a manner that will guarantee a turning point in supplying the market and in implementing the strenuous task that we posed in this sphere for 1989.

Without diverting attention from the issue of introducing the company-based organization, it would perhaps also be expedient:

—To work out and assert **additional measures on stabilizing and improving the domestic market** by the end of the first 3 months of 1989;

—To introduce a **system on monitoring and noting the changes in the population's standard of living,** and adopt the necessary decisions on improving the situation of people with the lowest income.

4. **The points, that were pointed out, must be incorporated in the program of the Council of Ministers, which will specify the strategy of advancing toward the company-based organization, in accordance with the plenum's decisions.**

—They must be the guiding principle, form the basic contents of our work, and determine the results of the activity of all responsible factors.

—Figuratively speaking, I mean the creation of **a written technology,** which will be used to monitor the work in the center and everywhere else.

5. **In addition, the following measures must be adopted and incorporated in the program on constructing the company-based organization, that we will establish at the national level:**

—The founding of an economic management training school and utilizing our own and foreign specialists and centers;

—Attracting foreign specialists to our companies for consultations and other activities;

—Training our specialists and leaders in foreign companies and schools.

6. **The other side of the issue of the company-based organization is that its introduction must be immediately accompanied by the appropriate legal decisions.**

It is necessary to advance toward an accelerated preparation of a legal system, that will guarantee the application of the company-based organization, as well as equal possibilities for developing big and small company structures in the various branches, on the basis of competition.

Against the background of the present needs the State Council must immediately prepare and adopt an appropriate **economic activity decree.**
—As reported by the leadership of the Council of Ministers, the comrades are ready to introduce the draft to the Politburo for discussion in the next few days, and we have no reason to postpone the resolution of this issue.
—Simultaneously with the decree and the other documents, with which the Council of Ministers will regulate the application of the renewed mechanism of the commodity producers' activity, we must resolve the issues, which were raised at our previous meeting, namely, the issues of prices, taxes, and so forth.
—We have clear premises in this sphere, and they must be firmly implemented.

I would allow myself to add: We shall no longer allow the adoption of a plan that has not been based on the appropriate rules and legal norms related to the activity of the economic levers.
—The companies and all commodity producers must understand with what mechanism they will work at the beginning of 1989.

However, the decree's role is temporary and therefore we must ensure the necessary organization for quickly working out and adopting the following necessary **laws:**
—A law on the state companies, cooperative companies, individual companies, and joint companies with foreign participation;
—A law on the independent participation of foreign companies in our economy;
—A law on leasing relations in agriculture.

We must allocate sufficient time for a wide-ranging discussion of these draft laws.

7. **The preregistration of the existing economic structures and the registration of the new companies is an irrevocable condition of advancing toward the company-based organization.**
—Therefore, the issues related to the mechanism of preregistration must already be incorporated in the decree, and simultaneously, the competence of the judicial organs must be clarified.
—The specialists must determine whether new court organs will be created, or whether new rights and responsibilities will be given to the existing ones.

8. I fully share the opinion that was presented at the previous meeting, namely, that it is necessary to correctly prepare ourselves for implementing the tasks ensuing from the basic trends on **restructuring the sphere of health protection.**

In addition, it would be purposeful to conduct a **thorough analysis** of what has been done and adopt **new measures related to resolving some other acute problems of sociopolitical character, such as:**
—Developing **the birth rate,** and the issue of the **demographic processes;**
—The economic development of certain regions.

9. The issue of **introducing the new wages** of those who are engaged in the sphere of education, and especially the teachers, must be correctly prepared and thoroughly discussed. For this purpose a proposal must be submitted for discussion to the Council of Ministers.
—In this case we need simple and clear rules and sensible mechanisms, which must exclude all negative consequences and prevent the emergence of subjective evaluation or a negative mood on the part of the Bulgarian teachers.

IV.

The issue of the economic and political reforms in our society is the second fundamental issue that we must discuss in connection with the decisions of the December plenum.

This is very important.

At the July plenum and afterward we repeatedly returned to the issue of implementing these two reforms **in a united manner.**
—From a theoretical point of view, this was a **correct** premise. We never thought that they must be **different stages** in implementing the uniform process of restructuring.
—Actually, this view of ours revealed one of the **unique characteristics** of restructuring in Bulgaria.

However, as you know, it was precisely in the implementation of this premise that **we actually stumbled and allowed essential mistakes,** which slowed down the progress of restructuring.

Some of the reasons for this situation were thoroughly analyzed at the plenum. In accordance with this, we drew the correct conclusions.

Simultaneously, the plenum discussion did not fully produce the necessary premises. The intention of the report and the ideas on implementing an economic and a political reform were again not grasped by all.

Why?
—Because they missed the main point: **The cardinal problem now is no longer to implement these reforms in an united manner, but to subject them to a synthesis.**
—The thesis of the unity had meaning and justification during the time when we **simultaneously** introduced changes in the basis and the superstructure, and in the organizations of the commodity producers—the so-called organs of self-management.
—Under those conditions we **preserved** the administrative hats, and tried to adjust them to the new situation. However, one way or another, they remained administrative hats.

—Under these circumstances the desired unity was disrupted. The result was the emergence of disproportions instead of harmony, and the roots of the bureaucratic structures were preserved.

Now, in the light of the plenum, the very approach must change, **and these reforms must be subjected to a synthesis.**

I shall review here only **one** side of this problem.

In the light of the premises of the July Concept, we begin "from the bottom"—from the primary collectives of commodity producers. This is correct. **However, if we do not implement this reform in synthesis with the changes from the top, we shall allow discordance, chaos, and disproportions.**
—In other words, the task is to supplement restructuring "from the bottom" with restructuring "from the top," and to coordinate restructuring "from the top" with restructuring "from the bottom."
—We can and must implement this principle in all spheres of material and intellectual life.

1. **We begin in the sphere of economy by introducing the company-based organization.**

In accordance with this we must fully construct **adequate structures** along the line of management and self-management.

For this purpose it is necessary to use the reform to eliminate all superfluous units and structures that do not correspond to the requirements of the company-based organization.

This means:

a) To complete the development of **new structures** within the Council of Ministers;

b) As early as during the first months of 1989 to prepare and to hold a congress of self-managing organizations which should establish their own **union of commodity producers.**
—At the congress of self-managing organizations from the economic sector the organizations in question should elect the **leadership** of their union and adopt a provisional statute on the activities of the union, defining the basic functions and tasks of this union.
—It is necessary, at the same time, to clarify the **principles** on the basis of which the aforementioned union will cooperate with the Ministry of Economy and Planning.
—It would be expedient that the chairman of the **commodity producers union** should be a cabinet member, namely a minister without portfolio, as we usually call him.

This is how we will practically implement the synthesis of changes both "at the bottom" and "at the top" of the economic sector.

2. **As regards the intellectual sphere, we should also apply the same principles and rules.**

Regarding the intellectual sphere, however, we so far devoted our special attention to questions related to the following activities:
—Specifying the functions of municipalities and oblasts in the self-management sector and in the comprehensive intellectual and cultural life of self-managing communities;
—Searching for solutions in connection with restructuring the creative unions;
—Applying methods of developing and operating nonprofit organizations.

All this is correct and necessary. It is very important, at the same time, to complete the selection of leadership organs in the intellectual sphere on a **national scale.**
—In this respect I fully share the point of view of those comrades who stated that organizational matters in this field should no longer be postponed. This should be our guiding principle in the following activities:
—In completing the structural model of organization and management in the intellectual sphere;
—In consolidating the existing cadres and in recruiting new leaderships for organizations in the intellectual sphere under the new conditions. **It is necessary, on this basis, to hold congresses of science, education, and culture as early as in February or March 1989.**
—These congresses, at their plenary sessions, should elect the leadership of a new, nationwide management organ for the intellectual sphere.
—As is supposed to be the case with the future national union of commodity producers, the chairman of this new organ in the intellectual sphere should be a cabinet member.

On the same basis the functions of the self-managing organs will be coordinated with the respective state functions on a nationwide scale.

By implementing, in this manner, a synthesis of revolutionary changes "at the top" and "at the bottom", we will create a structural model for all organizations—economic, intellectual, and social ones.

New collective organs will assume the strategic leadership of the self-managing organization and of the associations in which this organization participates at all levels.
—Managing councils of companies, scientific councils of scientific institutions, academic councils of educational institutions, and others—these are the new collective organs.
—They are elected in the most democratic manner.

We propose the same basic model for the organization and functions of operational leadership.

—At the level of companies this leadership should be implemented by the respective directors, while in higher educational institutions this function will be exerted by rectors and their deputies.

—In their work the operational leaderships should extensively rely upon the respective collectives, upon their initiatives and proposals.

What is the main factor of these basic requirements and of their implementation?

The main factor is related to the following measures:

—After a certain structure has been established—be it a company, an institute, a commodity producers' council, or any other such institution—and after its staff, in charge of strategic leadership, has been elected and confirmed, this same staff is expected to elect and appoint its operational leaders.

—On the basis of the law and in conformity with the law all organs—operational organs, as well as the organs in charge of the general, strategic leadership—are expected to exercise their own functions and implement their own decisions, without anyone interfering in their work.

—In case a director should be dismissed by the managing council within the term of service for which he was elected, a respective legal organ is authorized to restore him to his post, as long as he has acted according to law.

These are exceptionally important postulates which were submitted to the BCP Central Committee December Plenum and we are obliged to implement them from the bottom to the top, and along the line of reforms, with all the consequences they may entail for the restructuring process and for the activities of existing organs and structures.

On this basis we can say that we have practically completed the **structural changes within the Council of Ministers.**

As to the restructuring of the **National Assembly**, the supreme legislative organ, it will be implemented on the basis of future amendments to the Constitution.

V. The third synthesis which stems from the work of the plenum and without whose implementation we could not fulfill the decisions of the aforementioned plenum, is the synthesis between the working style and the life-style of our society.

—It is no secret that, regardless of all theoretical postulates, we have hitherto tolerated a **separation** of these two categories.

—This, however, was inevitable to a certain extent.

—The problem is that such a process of separation between the working style and the life-style produces and will further produce serious damages, and will result in **distortions** in practical work, in society, and in the individual consciousness.

Life has its inexorable exigencies, however. Working style and lifestyle should be asserted not simply in unity, but in a synthesis of virtues and approaches, of habits and principles, which should help us to develop a **uniform socialist style** of working and living in our society.

—This is the **main instrument** that will protect us against numerous evils which we are facing today.

What is and what should be the basis of this style and what should be the decisive principle of our struggle for a uniform living and working style?

The law should be the principal basis of all this.

—There is no working style, or life-style **outside** the framework of the law, there can be no question of such style if we try **to avoid** the law, or act **against** the law.

—It is the law that **educates** us in the spirit of a uniform life-style, **guarantees** this style, and makes sure that the **legacy** of this style should be passed on to the future generations.

Naturally, the law should be conform with our socialist principles, ethics, and ideals.

—This lifestyle applies both to Communists and to nonparty people, to all working people alike.

The uniform working style and life-style of our society should be harmoniously coordinated with our people's lives, on the basis of the law and by implementating the law.

A synthesis of working style and life-style based on the law—this is the main factor in our efforts aimed at democratization, humanitarianism, and morality in our society today.

—This working and lifestyle is characterized by an organic coordination of democracy with discipline, of self-initiative with self-responsibility, of rights and duties in the actions of all citizens.

—The law should become the general criterion and fundamental essence in the individual's system of values, it should be turned into a vital lever supporting man's labor efforts and his progress.

—This is precisely what we have in mind in saying that we should learn to live under the conditions of an expanding democracy and glasnost.

This is the lifestyle through which we will further develop our socialist humanitarianism and the altruism of our society.

Our new social communities will be built in this style.

This is the style that should prevail in the activities of our party, state, social, and economic organs and organizations.

All this sheds a new light over the question of our ideological work.

—A new style is required in this respect, as well: It should be conform with the standards of modern life in our country and all over the world. It should conform with the requirements of the individual and of society.
—We should subject our ideological work to this style and strive for it, for the ideological purity of our deeds and for ideological purity in human relations both in work and everyday life. We should strive for civilized manners and communist conviction in the work of our cadres.

VI.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum stressed the importance of those **spheres and units which are of particular importance for the restructuring process at the present stage of development.**

The necessity of promoting the activities of party organs and organizations to a new level emerged in the course of the discussion.
—This necessity was confirmed not only by the fact that numerous statements delivered at the plenum dealt with the question of the party and of party organizations in a rather poor style, without introducing any fresh, new ideas.

The truth, of course, goes much deeper, and is much more complicated.
—It begins with a **lack of initiatives,** a lack of **superstructure,** and a lack of sufficient **involvement** on the part of the higher party organs, including the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee.
—The flood of newly issued documents continues.
—The discussions on numerous party documents, however, confirmed how much the **party masses** are longing for fresh thoughts and words.

It is now particularly important to enhance the level of work within the party. Without this level, we cannot accomplish anything; we cannot implement any plenum decision whatsoever.
—There is no doubt that we should begin by examining the **organizational-political** state of the party organs and organizations, that we should try to consolidate the **party's leading bodies.**
—In close connection with this task it is necessary to **renew** the essence of party work as well. Is it not strange that in an era of such turbulent and important events, our new postulates and approaches, in numerous cases, are not being transformed into **practical political actions**, and essentially remain nothing but a sort of agitation-propagandistic wishful thinking?

The reorganization of the Fatherland Front should be the next step in our work, on which we should firmly rely.

Why is this so important?

For the two following reasons:

—One reason is that by restructuring the Fatherland Front we will give **strong impetus** to the development of **municipalities and townships** as social communities.

—The second reason is that through the reorganization of the Fatherland Front, the restructuring process will assume a new direction, and we will be able to bring **all social factors** to a new level, beginning with the party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], and Komsomol, ending with the social movements.

It would be expedient to adopt the following measures in this connection:

—A **committee of public and political organizations** should be attached to the Fatherland Front National Council, rallying all social forces on a voluntary basis, including **the BCP, the BZNS, and public organizations and movements, as well as religious communities and voluntary associations.**

—Similar committees should be organized at the **oblast and municipal levels.**

—Such committees, established on a nationwide and local scale, without interfering in the work of the Fatherland Front organizations, should be in charge of submitting new ideas and coordinating their activities in support of the respective social communities.

—These committees should be headed by the respective first leaders of the organizations participating in them (in alphabetical order and according to a rotating system), and should work without establishing their own administrative apparatus.

There is no doubt that in implementing these measures, we will, on the one hand, assist the Fatherland Front in its activities and enhance **the prestige of the Fatherland Front,** and on the other hand, we will create a new instrument for ensuring a **unity of action of all social forces** who, on the basis of **socialist pluralism**, are working for the Bulgarian mother country. This instrument will be unique and unprecedented in Bulgaria.

The newly established committee attached to the Fatherland Front National Council may be authorized to adopt **legislative initiatives.**

VII.

What is the basic and final conclusion that we can draw from all this?

There is only one conclusion.

In assessing the specific nature of the present situation and the necessity of **promptly resolving** the urgent problems, it would be expedient to establish a **strict organization** permitting us to adopt offensive, practical measures and to accomplish efficient tasks.

It would be correct to speed up the necessary political and ideological activities, so that everyone may understand and grasp the essence of our reasons for adopting this particular approach in the implementation of the July Concept.

As is known, a very important role is assigned, in this respect, to the mass media in view of the attention which they should devote to the problems developed at the plenum and to the practical experience stemming from the implementation of the plenum decisions.

To put it briefly: We should **develop a new approach of public opinion** in order to avoid any kind of political no man's land that would be filled with lack of understanding, hesitation, empty talk, and petty criticism.

This is one aspect of the question.

The second aspect is related to the establishment of a form of organization in state, economic, and public organs and organizations for the fulfillment of the tasks stemming from the plenum decisions, from the measures that we will adopt for the implementation of the aforementioned decisions, and in the purpose of fulfilling the law on the plan which was recently adopted by the National Assembly.

We are talking about the following measures:

—Measures are being prepared and will be put into operation by the Council of Ministers, and this involves technology that should be observed in implementing these measures from an organizational and essential point of view at all levels.

—It is necessary for the Politburo and the government, as well as for competent local organs to work according to a uniform schedule, by adopting the most appropriate form of coordination and control over implementation, and by personalizing responsibility.

It would perhaps be expedient not to divide work between the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, but to establish a **unified organ of operational leadership and coordination.**

Whether we should call this organ a commission is another question. In any case, it should function as an **operational staff at a nationwide level.**

Similar staffs should also be established in **oblasts and municipalities.**

I agree with the proposal that the staffs in question should be placed under the leadership of the first party leaders, respectively, on the national, oblast, and municipal scale.

Special **groups for analyzing and summing up the situation** should be established, attached to every staff on a nationwide and local scale, which should involve the participation of experts in science and practical work, as well as high-ranking functionaries and workers from the party and state apparatus.

As to the question of what kind of groups should be established in the associations, in connection with promoting company-based organization, specifying the plans of individual enterprises, and so forth—this matter should be submitted for the government's decision.

In this connection I would like to point out the following: The aforementioned staffs we were talking about should be provisional. They will organize the comprehensive elaboration of the problems in various spheres of our social development. Their existence will neither replace nor substitute for the functions of the respective state and economic structures, which should focus their attention on the implementation of current tasks.

As for the comprehensive organization and results in the further progress of restructuring, it would be expedient, at the end of 1989, to hold a **control plenum of the BCP Central Committee** in connection with the implementation of the decisions adopted by the December plenum in 1988.

It is evident that the main goal that should be implemented on an absolute **priority basis** is to speed up the proposals and drafts in the sector of **company-based organization** and the preparations for the **congress of commodity producers**, as well as for the respective **congresses of organizations in the intellectual sphere.**

It would be expedient to speed up the preparations for holding a **plenum of the Fatherland Front National Council, as well as to implement an efficient restructuring of the youth organization.**

We should soon complete the implementation of the most important tasks related to the **restructuring process within the party.**

The following measures are required in this respect:

First. During the first quarter of 1989, questions pertaining to changes in the work of party committees and their apparatus should be discussed, and expedient amendments should be proposed. They should involve the following areas:
—The BCP Central Committee;
—The oblast and municipal level;
—The work of the Secretariat and the commissions of the BCP Central Committee and oblast committees.

Second. The cadre staff and leading bodies of the individual Central Committee departments should be consolidated within the same schedule.

Third. The BCP Central Committee Secretariat should submit proposals on the consistent and practical implementation of the principle on the separation of functions between party and state organs by the end of May 1989.

We can **conclude** by saying that the BCP Central Committee December Plenum has undoubtedly accomplished its tasks which were assigned to it in preparing the plenum. This plenum will certainly be remembered in our party history as an important event.
—We can be satisfied with the fact that with its decisions, the December plenum cleared the road for a broad offensive along the entire front.

However, the plenum will provide a source of lessons and experience for a long time.

The present task is to mobilize all factors—party, state, social, and economic forces, as well as the workers class, the working peasants, and the intelligentsia—for the sake of prompt, practical activities expected to produce real deeds and specific results.

Press Editorials Comment on Zhivkov Speech

AU3012105788 Sofia BTA in English
0914 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 30 (BTA)—The significance of the final statement of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, before the session of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP on restructuring in Bulgaria is analysed by a number of editorials in today's press.

The general assessment of the commentaries is that the document makes extremely concrete and clear the basic trends of the reforms in this country's sociopolitical and economic life. The RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes of the value of that document for the work of the Bulgarian Communists.

The unsatisfactory role of a great number of party committees and organizations is indicated frankly and with exactliness and conclusion is made of the need of fresh ideas, of new impulses for the activation of Communists and their organizations, the paper writes. The RABOTNICHESKO DELO forecasts that the statement of the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party will contribute to the renovation of the work of the Communists, for the concentration of their will and energy in the struggle for restructuring.

The ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME appeals to the members of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) to cooperate with the Communists in the struggle for strengthening of the new agrarian policy. The paper notes Mr Todor Zhivkov's contribution to the development of the basic principles of that policy and writes that the Communists and the united agrarians should be at the head of the struggle for the revival of the Bulgarian village.

The main thing now is to clear everything which is an obstacle the KOOPERATIVNO SELO writes. The paper tells of the immense interest in the statement of Mr Todor Zhivkov in which the problems of restructuring, important for millions of Bulgarians are analysed.

The NARODNA ARMIYA characterizes the statement as a concrete programme for the further development of restructuring.

Mr Todor Zhivkov's statement is drawing again the attention at the practical actions without waiting for any instructions. The TRUD writes about that "Gordian knot" of interests and issues which should be cut so that we should advance forward.

Zhivkov Meets Diplomatic Corps on New Year

AU0201162489 Sofia BTA in English
1525 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 2 (BTA)—Today was held the traditional new year's meeting of State Council President Mr.Todor Zhivkov with the chiefs of the diplomatic missions accredited in Bulgaria.

The content of the delivered speeches, the cordial and sincere talk confirmed once again that these meetings have no protocol character. Especially today when the world is full of hopes for peace, security and disarmament it is a duty to every country to contribute, as much as possible, to the creation of the new all-human civilization.

On behalf of the chiefs of the diplomatic missions the doyen of the diplomatic corps in Bulgaria Mr. Taha al-Khayrat, ambassador of Syria, conveyed most cordial greetings and wishes to the Bulgarian people on the occasion of the new year.

On the horizon of international politics have appeared the first heralds of detente, which created conditions for the resolution of the regional conflicts with peaceful means, brought to elimination of the medium and shorter range missiles, and in the future—to the liquidation of nuclear and chemical weapons, said he.

The ambassador noted that the People's Republic of Bulgaria gives her essential contribution to the international detente for the elimination of the hot beds of tension and for the establishing of a situation of international peace and security.

In his speech Mr.Todor Zhivkov stressed that the past 1988 was a dynamic year, a year of hopes as well as of reason and wisdom, a year in which many of the fruits of the new political thinking have ripened.

1988 will remain in the annals of mankind's human history most of all with the unprecedented fact: the beginning, for the first time, of the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missile weapons in implementation of the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

A lot of positive steps were made toward strengthening of the confidence and cooperation, toward ever more stable building of the bridges between the states, between the East and the West, in the framework of separate regions and sub-regions, between political and economic groups, said the president of the State Council.

Mr.Todor Zhivkov noted the favourable influence on the international climate of the Soviet-American relations and the efforts for the building of an "all-European house".

The political calendar of the year contains also such events as the signing of the Geneva agreements for Afghanistan, the decisive move forward of the efforts for regulation of the conflicts in the south part of the African continent, the Middle East and the region of the Persian Gulf, said the Bulgarian leader.

As an event of primary importance he pointed out Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev's speech before the UN General Assembly—an example of stately approach, of a real expression of the policy of balance of interests, unlike that of the balance of force.

With sorrow and pain we must also say that 1988 was also the year of of one of the biggest disasters in mankind's recent history—the earthquake in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. This immeasurable tragedy has once again shown to all of us that there is nothing more precious and valuable than human life, than people, than any separate human being. But it also has shown something else—the great force of human solidarity, sympathy, charity, said Mr. Todor Zhivkov.

Further on he spoke about the restructuring in Bulgaria which has as its main task the realization of the enormous potential of socialism for every man, for society, for the nation as a whole.

Dwelling on the recent December plenum of the CC of the BCP Mr. Todor Zhivkov said that it has set the beginning of a breakthrough in the practical realization of the concept for the development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a highly developed and cultural socialist country.

He stressed that this concept means cardinal changes in the structure of the national economy, company organization in the different branches and activities.

With this we aim firstly to stimulate the interest of the producer, without whom there is no development, no well being, said the Bulgarian leader.

We clearly understand that our economy cannot develop further in the narrow national boundaries. That is why we will go toward overall innovation in the economic sphere on the base of new forms of cooperation with the other countries: industrial cooperation, attraction of capital and export of capital, consortiums, joint companies, etc.

Bulgaria opens itself more and more for the world, stands for wider cooperation with all states in all spheres of the mutual relations—economic, political, cultural, humanitarian and others, emphasized Mr.Todor Zhivkov.

The diplomats conveyed their new year greetings to the Bulgarian leader and then had a talk with him on problems of the restructuring in Bulgaria.

Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, attended the meeting.

Emil Khristov Leads Delegation to Phnom Penh

AU0201165989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and of the Cambodian Government, a Bulgarian party and government delegation, headed by Comrade Emil Khristov, departed for Phnom Penh.

The delegation will participate in the jubilee celebrations on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Greetings Message Sent on KPD Anniversary

AU0201094389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 88 p 5

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent greetings messages to the SED Central Committee and the central leaderships of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin and the German Communist Party on the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist Party of Germany.

Relations With Albania Seen Improving

AU0301103789 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 1, 2 Jan 89 p 7

[Marko Markov article: "Bulgaria-Albania: Thoughts in Tirana"]

[Text] In the last days of 1988 Tirana greeted us with a bright and sunny morning, like spring mornings in Bulgaria. It was on such a morning in 1983 that I arrived at Rinas Airport as charge d'affaires of the Bulgarian Embassy.

During the almost 4 years of my stay in Albania, our bilateral relations were still affected by the prejudices and suspicion that had accumulated during the previous 20 years. During those 4 years the activation of trade relations came to be a real bridge toward a gradual but certain normalization of Bulgarian-Albanian relations. Both sides made efforts to find ways to restore and revive confidence.

Despite the fact that there is no common Bulgarian-Albanian border, Bulgarians and Albanians have always felt like neighbors. This feeling is based on vital relations of friendship and sympathy in times of joy and troubles. The vicissitudes of history did not extinguish the fire of Bulgarian-Albanian traditions. The ideological differences that emerged in the international communist and workers' movement in the early sixties and the clashes between some socialist countries, for which a high price was paid, did not affect the prospects of our mutual relations.

In December 1988 Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, welcomed Andrey Lukanov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, in Tirana. Gjyzari himself had already visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the Bulgarian Government, as a guest to the Plovdiv Autumn Fair, and had had meetings at the highest level with Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

During the intensive 2-day program the Bulgarian government delegation and its Albanian partners tried to take an important step forward in the new stage of bilateral relations that had started at the beginning of 1988. A transition was to be made from the phase of routine trade exchange, which has progressed ever more dynamically in recent years, to a stage of mutually beneficial economic, industrial, and technical cooperation in various forms.

The new elements in Bulgarian-Albanian relations started to develop quickly, almost in parallel with the all-Balkan process, which began in early spring of 1988 with the historic Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states.

With the elevation of diplomatic relations from the exchange of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors between Sofia and Tirana and the exchange of visits at the ministerial level, a unique indirect dialogue between the two countries' leaderships developed. With common efforts and will, we have left behind the period of stagnation that characterized our relations for a long time.

Placing our economic, industrial, and technical cooperation on a long-term basis, which resulted from the signing of the intergovernmental agreement in Tirana on 22 December, will undoubtedly become the foundation upon which our relations in the political, scientific, cultural, and other areas will develop. This was also confirmed in Andrey Lukanov's talks with Albania's first leader, Ramiz Alia, and Adil Carcani, head of the Albanian Government.

The common road of socialist development, which also takes account of specific natural characteristics and national conditions in which the BCP and AWP function as sovereign and independent units of the communist and workers' movement, as well as the ensuing differences in constructing the new society and the existing differences in opinions and approaches, is the guarantee of the promising future of Bulgarian-Albanian relations.

The road of developing active economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the two socialist and Balkan countries, and expanding the sphere of their bilateral relations is not an easy one. The cooperation program that has been adopted requires accuracy and concreteness, as well as high partnership discipline, initiative, and activity. In this context, broad prospects for reaching fruitful results for the benefit of the two nations are opening for the two countries' departments and economic organizations.

Denial Made of Reports on Theft of Technology

AU2912183388 Sofia BTA in English
1817 GMT 29 Dec 88

["Untruthful Publications"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—The BTA is authorized to declare that the publications that have appeared recently in the mass media of some Western countries referring to the arrest of the Dutch citizen Mr Eddy Haag, allegedly accused of buying and of illegal export of computer technology from the USA for Bulgaria, are absolutely ungrounded and untrue. Bulgarian trade organizations have not established and maintained any trade contacts with this person.

Publications of this kind can only hamper the trade exchange between the East and the West and could contribute to the establishing of atmosphere of insecurity and mistrust.

Vienna CSCE Prospects Assessed

AU2712144488 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 23 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Ivan Zakhariev: "Is the All-European Forum Approaching Its Conclusion?"]

[Text] The Vienna meeting, which started its work on 4 November 1986, was the third meeting since the all-European forum held in Helsinki in 1975. Meetings were held in Belgrade (October 1977 to March 1978) and in Madrid (November 1980 to September 1983).

If we take a look at any of the meetings held so far, we will confirm the rule of "overcoming difficulties," which operated until the finish line was reached, with the adoption of a joint balanced document. There was one time when the hand of the clock was stopped "5 minutes" before the end of the meeting to enable it to be concluded successfully. The Vienna meeting is no different from the preceding ones in this respect. It began, and must now end, by overcoming the conflicting views and positions of the individual countries participating in the all-European forum.

On the European political scene, one question is being asked increasingly frequently, and with good grounds: Can the Vienna meeting be concluded by the end of the year?

In the calendar of international events, it seems that December is likely to enter history with great new hopes of strengthening peace and security in the world. Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations in New York marked the practical culmination of the diplomatic offensive of the leaders of state of the largest countries.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries proposed an important new initiative for speeding up the work on drafting a mandate for the future negotiations of the 23 countries, in confirming the readiness of the Warsaw Pact member countries to seek a compromise solution for one of the most important disarmament issues in the conventional arms field: "the geographic zone."

If we accept the European priorities which are being examined at the Vienna meeting in three global directions, the military issues are totally concentrated in the so-called first basket (included in the section dealing with military-political questions of security). Now a new element must be added to these issues: the direct talks that started between the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states on reducing armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. With great difficulties, work is proceeding on drafting a mandate for these important negotiations, which are to start immediately after the conclusion of the Vienna meeting. The chief difficulty hindering the adoption of a decision dates from July 1987, when NATO wanted to exclude a certain part of the territory of Turkey from the "geographic zone" because of "the special geostrategic features of the region." Later on, the principle of "excluding" a specific geographic zone was accepted by the Soviet Union, but on the condition that the same approach also be followed in relation to certain parts of the Soviet Transcaucasus, with which, however, NATO and Turkey did not agree.

During the summer and autumn of 1988, unofficial talks were held between the representatives of the two military blocs, with the aim of elucidating certain premises of a military-strategic nature concerning the concept of a "geographic zone." At the end of November the last obstacle was also overcome—the USSR expressed its willingness to include all of its territory west of the Urals and the Caspian Sea in the zone covered by the negotiations, provided that NATO agree that the region "excluded" from the territory of Turkey be of an acceptable area, that the armed forces remaining in this region not exceed the real requirements of security, that there should be no foreign military bases, and that exceptions not be used to circumvent future agreements. At the same time, the specification that the document would not mention the archipelagoes was added, but that certain more remote islands should be noted in the text.

A number of leaders of delegations of the socialist countries spoke in support of the Soviet position at the Vienna meeting. However, certain NATO representatives were unable to react adequately to the flexible approach of the Warsaw Pact member countries, and adopted completely unacceptable positions, which caused surprise even among some of their Western European partners.

One has the impression that the accent is being placed on a problem of primary importance for European politics. This is indeed the case, because unless the problem is solved, it is impossible to reduce the threshhold of military confrontation in Europe, or to advance toward a nuclear-free world and a guaranteed peace. In parallel with the negotiations of the 23, the CSCE must also continue its work; the Stockholm Conference must be renewed, under the title of "Stockholm-2," with the participation of all 35 of the states that signed the Helsinki Final Act. Accordingly, it must be accepted that both forums will proceed within the framework of the all-European process: The end goal will be one and the same—to strengthen and guarantee the military-political dialogue and achieve a substantial reduction of conventional arms and weapons.

One has the impression that when the question concerns the military aspects of disarmament in Europe, people only talk and write about conventional arms. The reason is the reluctance of the Western countries to formulate the mandate for the negotiations clearly enough. They are trying to exclude entire categories of weapons from the negotiations, such as the tactical nuclear air forces, and the nuclear weapons based on the naval vessels of the North Atlantic bloc and the United States.

Surely everybody knows—both specialists and others—that conventional arms and weapons do not exist independently, but are directly and indivisibly connected, for example, with the dual-purpose function (60-70 percent of conventional weapons can fire nuclear warheads). However, the West insists on negotiations that do not include the nuclear components and warheads! For this reason, our countries clearly expressed their position at the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee: Tactical nuclear weapons should be discussed at separate negotiations, and the same also applies to chemical arms and naval forces. This issue, as well as all the other points under dispute, must not hinder the conclusion of the work of the Vienna meeting.

One can hardly say that differences on the principal basic premises no longer exist between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. The West European partners continue to formulate vague differences instead of proximities in concepts, and this conceals a risk of the dialogue meeting new pitfalls on the road to concluding the work of the Vienna meeting.

During the final months of 1988, the North Atlantic bloc strongly exhibited a lack of a common political concept on the problems of disarmament (for example, Bonn thinks in one way, and London and Paris in another).

This lack of unanimity on the global problem of our time conceals the danger of indefinitely delaying the work of concluding the all-European forum. As a specific instance, Turkey's behavior is of some interest. Articles have appeared in the Turkish press concerning the renowned "Soviet threat", a "top secret plan of aggression," a "plan for the Soviet Union to occupy Turkey in the event of war," and so on. However much this may smack of a newspaper campaign—and not only in Turkey—it is all a sign that the United States and its NATO allies simply do not want to get involved in the all-European process earlier than necessary, and without reservations and provisos.

One would be deluding oneself to think that everything is already decided in the other two areas at the Vienna meeting, specifically the talks on economic cooperation within the so-called second basket, and the talks in the humanitarian field that form the "third basket." One positive event was the establishment in June of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, and, at the same time, between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the Common Market. In the political field, the idea of the common European home is being launched with particular force, an idea that from now on will give a positive impetus to East-West relations.

Considering the positive trends in all aspects of international life, we can accept that the Vienna meeting has a real chance of ending at the end of December, or at the latest at the beginning of 1989, with the adoption of a final document by consensus. Grounds for this optimistic forecast are provided by the all-European process itself, which has conquered new positions, and, most of all, by the principles embodied in the Helsinki Final Act, which contain enough stimuli for promoting understanding.

Turkish Family Seeks Political Asylum

AU0401142589 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 3 Jan 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Turkish citizen Syulyuk Titiz by Darina Mladenova: "It Is My Wish for Us To Stay in Bulgaria Forever"; date and place not given]

[Text] "I am Syulyuk Titiz, [name as published] and was born on 6 February 1943 in the town of Korum in Turkey. I am a Turkish citizen, married with 4 children.

"The position of the workers in Turkey is very grim. Repressions by the authorities and the police are an everyday occurrence. Arrests of poor and progressive people continue unceasingly. As a progressive person, my life was also threatened. Under these conditions, I thought it over and decided to leave with my whole family for Bulgaria, which I did. As far as my political position is concerned, I have been an active member and organizer of the progressive movement in Turkey called "Dev-Yol" ("Revolutionary Front") since 1972.

"I would like my family and me to be granted permission to remain forever in Bulgaria, for me to practice my profession, and for my children to attend a Bulgarian school" (from the application to the chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria).

Syulyuk tries to contain his emotions, but he has so much to tell—everything that he was compelled to remain silent about in Turkey.

"Repressions are an everyday event," said Syuluk. "There are murdered victims, but no murderers. The list of those persecuted and arrested constantly increases. At the same time, the propaganda of Ozal's government is aimed at slandering other states, in order to divert attention away from the great problems within Turkey itself. They use every pretext to wage an anti-Bulgarian campaign, such as the case of Naim Suleymanoglu (Naum Shalamanov), for example. I did not believe the claims about the repressions in Bulgaria. During the short time that I have been here, I have been personally convinced that there is no truth in what is being trumpeted forth in Turkey."

Both he and his 34-year-old wife Shukran are firmly resolved. They are convinced that their life will be more peaceful and secure in Bulgaria.

"I did not escape for economic reasons," Syulyuk stresses, in answer to the question of why they preferred our country to the FRG, for example, where he had worked for a time. "As a building worker, I have always had good earnings. I escaped because of my convictions, because I want to live in a democratic socialist state."

Shukran, who has always been a housewife—because in Turkey working women are not well regarded, and indeed the opportunities for working are very small—wants to work. The children have, so to speak, have been taken care of; Ulash, the youngest, is 4 years old, while his sisters are 9, 11, and 13. Gulyagi, the oldest, tells me about school. She has learned nothing about Bulgaria, and only knows that it is a communist state where there are repressions. Like everyone in the family, she does not believe in Islam, and, like many of her fellow pupils, did not even believe the religion teacher. I want her to learn the truth about Bulgaria as quickly as possible, and to find something to believe in in Bulgaria.

While the younger children, like children everywhere, wander away, having lost patience, the parents continued their tale about everyday life in Turkey. They told me that recently the graves of progressive figures had been dug up or blown up; they told of the oppression of the minorities; of the cases of bribery, without which it was impossible to leave the country; and about their relatives and neighbors, who, when saying goodbye, wept and cried: "You will be all right, but in whose hands are you leaving us?" The first utterances of the Turkish family were words of gratitude to the Bulgarian authorities for their care and attention. Our first good wishes to them were to have a merry new year holiday around the Bulgarian fir tree, and to have a truly happy and successful new year.

Jakes FRG TV Interview Rebroadcast

LD0201230389 Prague Television Service in Czech 2015 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Interview with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by unidentified interviewer of FRG first television program, ARD; date and place not given—recorded; questions in German with superimposed Slovak translation, Jakes in Czech]

[Text] [Question] Mr General Secretary, thank you for the invitation and the opportunity to speak to you. Allow me to ask the first question: On 11 December 1973—that is 15 years ago—the treaty on mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG was concluded. What has been achieved since then in your opinion, and how could relations deepen further?

[Jakes] I would like to say that in those 15 years much has changed, much has changed in the world, in international relations, much has changed in our country and much has changed in our relations with the FRG. I would like to say that 15 years ago it was a good step which was made, and I can say this because in those 15 years there was development of mutual relations between our countries, and this development is beneficial for both Czechoslovakia and the FRG; I think, too, and in general for the development of East-West relations, as we say. And this contributes to the main thing; that is, to the reducion of international tension.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the FRG was visited by our president, and an agreement was reached that foreign ministers would meet annually and consult each other on mutual relations. And, finally, Chancellor Kohl has visited our country and his visit was very useful and fruitful. A number of issues were agreed on—on how this cooperation is to be developed specifically. This concerned both political questions and also, above all, economic, ecological, and humanitarian questions.

I can say that we did not stop at words only. Much has been fulfilled in practice. Concerning the political cooperation, there are permanent consultations. Our countries have been visited by a number of prominent politicians and ministers, there are close relations between our republics and your federal lands, a number of representatives of your lands visited our country, a number of representatives of your political parties have visited us and these contacts are continuing and are deepening further.

This is beneficial—we are getting to know each other better, and only knowing each other makes effective cooperation possible. We can, and this is particularly important—we can discover that which unites us, where we can come to agreements. These are above all global issues and we can create conditions for better further knowledge about each other.

I would like to say that, as far as economic cooperation is concerned, it has developed well. With the FRG it in fact represents 30 percent of our mutual trade with capitalist countries and amounts to DM5 billion. We therefore have the widest cooperation, except for with some socialist countries, especially of course with the Soviet Union. And it is also mutually advantageous cooperation.

Cooperation in the ecology field is also developing well. It is interesting for us as well as for the FRG. Many questions to do with ecology have been technologically resolved in the FRG. We can make use of these things or order and buy them in the FRG because we want to fulfill our commitment to reduce emissions on our territory according to international agreements. Naturally, we need cooperation for this.

There are also changes in humanitarian questions, as well as in tourism. I think about 600,000 FRG citizens are coming to Czechoslovakia this year; there are 180,000 from our side—we are substantionally smaller than the FRG. Many humanitarian questions are also being resolved, which used to be subject to different opinions: family reunions and other issues, mutual contacts are being made more simple starting the beginning of January. At some border points consular departments are being opened, where entry visas to Czechoslovakia will be issued on the spot.

Therefore, it is a matter of a number of steps—possibly some of them are still small, but nevertheless they are steps forward—not only to get to know each other better but also to cooperate on an increasingly broad basis.

Therefore I would assess those 15 years as representing important progress in our relations when preconditions were created to make them broader in the future. And we do want to broaden them in all fields. Of course, we are interested especially in economic cooperation and the transition to higher levels of cooperation.

I have in mind the creation of joint enterprises, participation of foreign capital here in Czechoslovakia in entrepreneurial enterprises. We have created legal conditions for this, legal securities. This is not only a matter of bilateral entrepreneurial enterprises like, for example, between our country and the FRG; other socialist countries can eventually take part in it. I believe that there are realistic possibilities to secure further development in this direction. I would also like to say that cooperation in third country markets is beginning. This is also important.

We are not interested in increasing the amount of trade with the FRG in machinery and equipment, as our industrial base is large and we are about to restructure our economy. We want to narrow the assortment of particular machines we import. We want to enter on a much broader scale the international division of labor. Yes, we do prefer the socialist division of labor but we do not exclude cooperation in this sphere—that is in structural changes, in including capitalist countries in the distribution of production programs. On the contrary, we are very interested. Our closest neighbor is the FRG, the possibilities are very great and I do not see any great obstacles should there be bilateral interest.

Regarding political and humanitarian issues: political, that is the reinforcement of peace, disarmament, or the reduction of armaments in Central Europe—we are interested in them and certainly the FRG people are interested in working for peace, and do not spend so much on defense but put these funds into social and economic development. Our wish is that these relations continued to develop well; as that of two equals, despite the fact that we are smaller, and on the base of mutual advantage and mutual noninterference in domestic affairs.

[Question] You have mentioned that as of 1 January conditions for tourism will be made easier. I would like to know whether, in the foreseeable future, one can also expect better conditions for journalists, above all as regards accredited correspondents who experience difficulties in obtaining visas and permits to stay. This is what I would like to know in particular.

[Jakes] I think that in issuing these permits we are quite liberal, that there are only a few cases when our response would be to turn down a request for an entry permit. Individual cases exist when, I would say, people talk about us very negatively. In fact, it is not a question of being negative but of spreading untruths about our Republic, spreading slander. In these cases we protect ourselves so we do not become the object of such slander. But, otherwise, every single journalist is welcome in our country.

[Question] Next year we expect a visit by Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Bonn. Would it be possible for a government and party delegation led by you to make a similar visit, above all because the FRG is your nearest Western neighbor?

[Jakes] Of course, you can expect such a possibility but I would like to say that at the moment, in the foreseeable future, Mr Adamec, our prime minister, is to visit the FRG at Mr Kohl's invitation.

Of course, in this context it will then be necessary to find another suitable date—personally, I have no objections to such a visit; after all, I have visited the FRG and, 2 years ago, held discussions with a number of FRG politicians, didn't I? And I could see that we were able to agree on many points, so such mutual exploration is always useful. After all, the talks I had with Mr Kohl, I would say, were not only interesting but useful.

[Question] When, in your opinion, will the time come for a greater freedom of opinion in Czechoslovakia?

[Jakes] I think that there is a place for this question. However, at the same time I think that it is not quite correct. I believe that an overwhelming majority of people in our country have a sense of full freedom and have a platform to express their views on the situation in our country, to put forward the necesary proposals, to criticize, and so on. In our country there is the National Front; five political parties, including the CPCZ, belong to it, together with large social organizations, trade unions, youth and various leisure organizations, gardeners, fishermen, and so on. And a discussion is taking place on this platform, there are exchanges of views and polemics, and thus everyone who wants to express a view on these issues can do so.

Yes, there are people who are looking for a different way; yes, there are such people. There are people who have serious objections to the socialist system and there are also some individuals who for various reasons—unsatisfied personal ambitions, for example—are looking for confrontation with this society. We are on the whole quite liberal, I would say, toward them. There are laws, and we observe these laws. We do not, I would say, we do not want to use the power of the state. Everything depends on the actions and behavior of those who are in those various, as they say, informal organizations, who attempt to pass themselves off as members of these informal organizations, even though this is a handful of individuals, their names keep cropping up in every such organization.

For us, internally, this does not represent any danger, but there is a certain influence, and this influence rests on the fact that views of these people, their comments, and their utterances are picked up very quickly indeed—I would say in a matter of hours—by some Western mass media and broadcast in Czech to Czechoslovakia. By this they, naturally, feel important, and in this, I would say, rests their activity. They do not dare to come, normally, to a meeting of the revolutionary trade union movement—that is, a trade union or youth meeting, or a public meeting of a national committee, or of a local authority—and to express their views and put their proposals forward. They have never done this. They always do this via some foreign mass media and disseminate their views or print some leaflets and disseminate them in the country.

They sometimes act in such a way that it is, I would say, even necessary to take action against them. And after all, not only in Czechoslovakia, in every state in the world, when actions violate the laws, action is taken. If not, there would be anarchy, and none of us wants anarchy. We all want an orderly society in which a citizen feels safe, I would say.

[Question] A visit by Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev is expected in Bonn. Would it not be possible for a government and party delegation led by you to make a similar step? The FRG is your closest Western neighbor.

[Jakes] We start from facts. One thing is clear: These manifestations or meetings are jointly organized by some Western media. How? The media announce where these meetings will take place and appeal to our citizens to participate in these meetings and pay enormous attention to popularize the organizers of these meetings. We do not act in this way toward any country—to misuse the media to give instructions to some people on how to behave, what to do, where to come, and what to support.

There is a need to understand a note from our governmental authorities concerning intervention and participation in organizng these actions. By this I do not blame you, or good and responsible editors—I do not want to impugn their honor. Nevertheless, it is done especially by those radio stations which broadcast in Czech and Slovak. Though, as you know, we have taken a measure now, we stopped jamming all these broadcasting stations, the latest ones.

[Question] Many defenders of human rights used to be members of your party; in 1968 you were responsible for the purge of this party. My question is: I think that about 367,000 members were expelled then; but many of them expect to be rehabilitated. To what degree can the communist party give up its, let us say, stubborness as far as its former members are concerned? Is not already time, after 20 years, to recreate domestic peace, when one realizes that even those who have been sentenced to life imprisonment can enjoy liberty after only 15 years, for humanitarian reasons.

[Jakes] Nobody is condemned for life. We have taken many of these comrades back into the party. It is the primary party organizations which have to admit them. The rest that were not taken back—not all of them would want to be back in the party and that is their personal affair. After all, one joins the party of one's own will and the party decides whether it will or not admit somebody as a member. And it is also the decision of the party, that is—of party members, whether somebody should or should not remain a member.

It is not a unilateral affair. It is a decision made by the collective of party members whether somebody should or should not be a party member because of his behavior, actions, and so on. I would, however, like to say that most often it was not a case of expelling from the party but of cancelling membership. There is a difference. Membership is cancelled for a lack of activity, for insufficient standing up to the onset of right-wing forces, as we call them, at that time, for half-hearted behavior.

But such a person did not fight against the party, against its ideology, or against our foreign political alliances. Such a person left the party either of his own will or his membership was cancelled by the decision of the other members of his primary organization. The overwhelming majority, the decisive majority of these people keep working where they worked before.

Who then was affected at that time? These were mainly people who were engaged in politics and, according to party opinion, became a bitter disappointment. If somebody was lecturing on Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy at a university and let the party down, he was not allowed to go on lecturing. He cannot do this work if he was a professional failure. But a person who was a physician, a consultant, a surgeon, and a good one, he continued to be one. Therefore, we cannot speak in absolute terms about those afflictions. Yes, mistakes were made. We have been correcting them. We have dealt with appeals. Membership has been given back to thousands of people. This does happen. Realistic reasons and facts do not always play the decisive role. Sometimes personal dislikes, personal differences, are abused at such moments. We have corrected that. Maybe we have not corrected everything, not everyone to whom harm was done in this way has made himself heard.

Today, however, it is known that there were attempts in some cases to transfer the consequences of these errors onto children and so on. We have made a firm move against this. It is not possible today for somebody to be discriminated against due to the fact that his father lost his party membership and therefore he was not acceptable for a university course, a secondary school, or some job. It depends on the person himself—what he is like and not what his father or his mother were like. The important thing is the person's behavior, his views, his qualifications, his political attitudes. After all, every country takes into consideration who supports the given social system, the given regime, and who is against it, and will not entrust those people with offices who want to change this social system. We have acted here quite logically and today we make it possible to appeal to these former party members to take an active part in the process of restructuring and democratization.

Yes, they are not party members but they are citizens of this country and we behave to them according to their activity. We do not see them as enemies. The overwhelming majority of those people today support and agree with the party policy. With active deeds. Naturally, there are people, predominantly those who had been in high party offices and had to abandon them, who were expelled from the party, who do not always come to terms with their current position. They would like to rejoin political life and they see in the process of restructuring and democratization a realistic opportunity to do so. The people who in 1968 brought the country to the brink of catastrophe, who let us down—I do not speak of our aims then, as we wanted to do good things in 1968—but about where it took us. The party as a leading force in society lost its influence on its development and lost control over the development of events, and forces that had nothing in common with socialism appeared on the scene. They had to leave for these very reasons. We do not treat them ungenerously. We do not persecute them or do anything against them as long as they do not fight against us. Then we have to defend ourselves. And if you look at many institutions, beginning with ministries, you find a large number of people who have lost their party memberships. They are in high positions: factory directors, deputy ministers, and others who used to be party members and now are not.

Some of them have been readmitted as party members. But there are people working in schools, principals, hospital chiefs, and so on, who are not party members. The point is that there are only 1.5 or 1.6 million communists and there are 15 million citizens. On the contrary, we now see to it that much greater numbers of noncommunists are involved in the management process so the party is not isolated. After all, the party works for all—and everything used to be connected only with the party. But what we want is for everyone who wants to be involved to be involved and also to get the appropriate post in the managerial structure. We have ministers who are members of other political parties, we have deputy chairmen of the federal assembly and deputies among the vast numbers of nonparty members. At the moment nonparty members or former party members are being elected to directors posts.

Yes, I want to say it again that certain mistakes have been committed and they had to be put right. Maybe, we have not put right all those mistakes but in all those cases where we were aware of a concrete mistake that was pointed out by the people, they were corrected. I have been able to see this for myself because at the time I worked as the chairman of the party's Central Control and Auditing Commission, whose basic purpose is to rectify errors. Yes, that is its basic purpose. The commission was dealing with all the appeals by those people who did not agree with the decisions made by party bodies. Well, this is the way to view this issue. If I were to make a concrete analysis as to how many people were involved, genuinely involved, regarding their profession, then the number was about 35,000. Yes, there were 35,000 people who actually lost their leading posts.

[Question] Observers like myself are noting an ever growing shifting from the Soviet Union. What sort of ideology is behind this? And what is Czechoslovakia hoping to achieve through its particular progress in the economic and political fields?

[Jakes] I think that such a notion is an error, a great error. First of all, we fully support the policy of the Soviet Union because we consider it a correct one. Naturally, as regards domestic affairs and its specific features, this policy is based on the Soviet Union's needs, on the problems and questions which need answers. Regarding ourselves, the main trend is identical, that is—the process of democratization and the economic reform. The goal and the idea are identical: again to involve the decisive majority of the people so that this majority makes an active contribution to solving problems, gets involved in decisionmaking and the actual fulfilment of these decisions. This then is the idea: it is the same both in the Soviet Union and over here. Naturally, to achieve this it is necessary to change many methods and forms of work. However, I would like to emphasize again that ours is a shared path, an identical path. We fully support restructuring in the Soviet Union and also implement it in our country. We do so purposefully. As is known, we have now decided consistently to implement the economic system 1 year ahead of schedule, as of 1 January 1990. We have even decided to hold the party congress 1 year earlier so that, precisely in the interest of accelerating the process of restructuring and democratization, we are able to discuss these questions at the highest party forum.

Naturally, development in our country is a bit different. We, too, have our problems, difficulties, not small problems, but we think that the final results or the final consequences of our decision will be as we envisage them—that the situation on the whole in our country will improve, that people's participation in the solution of problems will be more active and that many of those shortcomings, the lagging behind from the past, will be removed, and that we will ensure a further dynamic development of our country.

[Question] It could be said that the East and West are striving equally to reduce the tension. What will be Czechoslovakia's specific contribution in the future to preserve, on your part, peace and to construct the common European home?

[Jakes] Just like the majority of the people in the world we, too, have an exceptional interest in progress toward peace, in specific results. We want the reduction of the atomic danger, nuclear war, on the other hand also the reduction, above all, in Central Europe and the reduction of conventional weapons. We have always very actively approached these questions. For example, when it was decided to remove missiles we very quickly came out in support of this effort. We have put forward jointly initiatives with the GDR, their party, and the social democrats in your country, to create a corridor without nuclear or chemical weaopns. We have put foward an initiative to create a zone of trust between countries of the NATO alliance and the Warsaw Pact—a zone of trust whose cooperation would develop broadly, where all heavy offensive weapons would be removed, where mutual trade would broaden widely, mutual communications via which ecological problems would be solved. In some of these directions we have received support and our proposals still stand. Naturally, we are interested in the reduction of strategic missiles by half. We support fully proposals of the Soviet Union put forward by Comrade Gorbachev at the UN on the unilateral reduction of armaments in Europe. One tank division will leave our country. We support this fully and will look to find ways to reduce, on our side, the military potential of Czechoslovakia not only of the Soviets who are stationed in our country. This has met with full understanding and full support, I would like to stress, I have already said so, that Soviet troops are not in our country for domestic reasons. They are here because what matters is a certain balance in Europe. And as these questions will be dealt with and faced, this problem will also be tackled. Our last initiative—as it is in fact related to the reduction of tension, because everything that aims at developing cooperation also leads to the reduction of international tension. It is the initiative that I spoke about: to tackle jointly ecological problems here in Central Europe. And in the process of tackling these problems mutual understanding is being born. What is being created is what you said before we began to talk: The picture of an enemy is evaporating and the picture of a human being is appearing, the picture of a person who has similar wishes as people everywhere else. One who wants to live in peace, to fully realize himself, create something, who wants his family to live happily. He wants to move freely, to visit other countries. These interests are shared by all people living in both capitalist or socialist countries. We want to contribute to make it happen.

[Correspondent] I thank you very much, general secretary.

[Jakes] I thank you for being interested in our country , our life, our work. I would like to use this opportunity to wish your listeners a Happy New Year. Let this become a year of peace, a year successful for them in work, and may they have good health.

Interview Corrected

LD0301202789 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] At 2115 yesterday Czechoslovak television broadcast the interview of Comrade Milos Jakes for the FRG television company ARD. The editor Jatoslav Janku has this to say in relation to this interview:

[Janku] Esteemed viewers. Yesterday the television news department prepared for broadcast the interview provided by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, for a correspondent of the ARD West German television committee. As a result of incorrect cutting in my translation, the following question was left out:

On 10 December, preceding the Human Rights Day, the first permitted demonstration of citizens for human rights was held in Prague. Is this a sign of liberalization, and do you take it as liberalization? Your party and your government have emphasized before that the actions of human rights defenders in Czechoslovakia are managed by Western media.

Comrade Milos Jakes then answered this question. The television news department and I personally apologize to our viewers for this error.

Fojtik Speaks on Restructuring at Media Gathering

LD0201134689 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 28 (CTK)—In 1988, the 7th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee approved the plan of restructuring of the society which has started to be implemented under direct influence of the Soviet Communist Party impulses later this year, Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan Fojtik said here Wednesday at a meeting with leading representatives of the Czechoslovak mass media of information.

He said that the program of restructuring has been elaborated to suit Czechoslovak conditions in harmony with the country's experience and needs. It is early to evaluate the results, it is up to the 18th party congress to do so, he said, adding that nowadays it is not substantial to ask who is for and who is against the restructuring, but the question is how to proceed in accord with the conditions we are working under.

The fundamental demand is to consider the solution of problems from the point of view of new needs and demands, to remove everything which hampers socialism, Jan Fojtik said.

He stressed the significance of mass media of inforamtion as an important instrument of ideological influence mobilizing the masses of workers and citizens. As to the implementation of an open policy and public information, we are just on the threshold of a long way, Jan Fojtik pointed out, adding that within the party, pluralism of views and policies based on socialism should be established. It is necessary through the deepening of socialist democracy, an open policy and greater public information to activate all the Czechoslovak people to work and contribute to the benefit of the society, in the interest of further development of socialism, Jan Fojtik said.

Pan Am Crash Investigation Discussed

AU0301134089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK London dispatch: "Many Things Still Unclear; Air Crash Investigation Continues"]

[Text] While international airports throughout the world have substantially tightened security measures, hundreds of Scottish policemen continue their search on an area of almost 400 square kilometers, looking for debris from the American Boeing 747. It is known that 270 people perished in the crash.

Pan American, which owns the aircraft, has admitted that the aircraft was carrying 430kg of "greatly depleted" radioactive uranium in its tail section. According to the company's representative, the uranium is used in Boeing 747 aircraft in order to balance out the center of gravity, and the likelihood of a dangerous quantity of radioactive emission into the atmosphere during a crash is extremely small.

Without mentioning its sources, the British daily THE TIMES has reported that the explosive was brought onto the aircraft in the luggage of a traveler from Frankfurt am Main in West Germany. But the press spokesman of the FRG Ministry of Interior immediately rejected this report. Other dailies are speculating which terrorist organization perpetrated the crime, claiming that it must have been one of the groups based in the Middle East. However, neither the commentaries nor the results of the official investigation published so far have provided any proof of this.

More on Search

AU0301135589 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 2 Jan 89 p 5

[CTK London dispatch: "Expanded Area of Investigations; Circumstances Around American Aircraft Crash Still Unclear"]

[Text] The intensive search for the last victims of the American aircraft crash of 21 December and for the debris of the crashed machine continues in Scotland.

The remains of the 29 missing persons which are still unaccounted for, as well as the plane's left wing, one engine, and the entire tail of the Boeing 747, have not yet been found. On Saturday [31 December] the search was therefore expanded to cover 320km near the small town of Lockerbie. Local coastguards are also taking part in the search. According to the investigators, the aircraft parts which have been found are important for determining the precise circumstances of the catastrophe.

On Saturday [31 December] the British press quoted the CTK release on the Czechoslovak stand, stating that Czechoslovakia did not deliver in the past, and is not delivering today, any explosives to terrorist groups. The British press also reported on the Czechoslovak offer expressing willingness to dispatch our experts to Great Britain at any time to provide an expert opinion.

After 10 days of investigations, many things surrounding the aircraft crash still remain unclear.

World Youth Festival Participation Viewed

AU0301155189 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 2 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Lubomir Ledl, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Preparatory Committee for the 13th World Youth and Student Festival, by Lubos Tesar: "Festival Devoid of Taboos; Shall We Finally Put an End to Formal Pledges and Formal Solidarity?;" date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Tesar] What will our participation in the [13th World and Student] festival look like?

[Ledl] The festival is a unique form of concentrating the public opinion of the world youth at a given place at the same time. The scale of political, religious, and other differences will be enormous. [passage omitted] It is natural that we want to be an equal partner in this worldwide discussion. That is why in selecting our delegation we must focus on the quality of delegates. Their number is not fully within our competence; the number of delegates from individual countries will be determined by the International Preparatory Committee. We expect our delegation to have around 600 members. I am convinced that the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] and our national preparatory committee command such authority in the world youth movement that this Czechoslovak demand will be met.

[Tesar] Will other interested people also be able to take part, in addition to the official delegation?

[Ledl] In addition to the official delegation, between 150 and 300 tourists should depart for the festival through the CKM [Youth Travel Bureau] agency. Their exact number depends on whether we will have one or two Czechoslovak Airlines charters at our disposal. Unfortunately, transportation is a limiting factor. The festival takes place in the middle of the high tourist season, and the price of the ticket also plays a role. It may sound extremely illogical, but while a roundtrip ticket on a regular flight costs Kcs6,000, a roundtrip ticket on a charter costs Kcs20,000. [passage omitted]

[Tesar] How much will the participation of each delegate cost?

[Ledl] Roughly Kcs25,000. We are also thinking of making the delegates defray some of the costs—Kcs3,000 to Kcs5,000—themselves. [passage omitted]

[Tesar] Let us now turn to a different matter. Between May and September 1988, Kcs2.4 million was deposited into the SSM's Festival Solidarity Fund. That looks like a big sum. But when we multiply the number of SSM members—1.4 million—by Kcs25 and the number of members of the pioneer organization—which also has 1.4 million members—by Kcs5, we arrive at the sum of Kcs42 million as the final figure. By the way, it seems to me that the setting of these quotas and tasks conflicts with the basic idea of every solidarity campaign, with volunteerism....

[Ledl] It is unacceptable when someone demands quotas or tasks for the solidarity fund. [passage omitted] The so-called quotas were meant solely as a guiding figure, and it was a mistake that they were published as if they were some sort of a mandatory indicator. At some places in the districts and regions, they then came to be treated as a contribution that has been ordered from above and presented to members as such. Such a course of action is inconsistent with the ethics of the solidarity fund and with the ethics of any solidarity campaign as such. Solidarity must be the expression of one's thinking and convictions, and not the consequence of orders or even of coercion.

[Tesar] How will the resources of the Festival Solidarity Fund be used?

[Ledl] We can divide them into three parts. The participation of our delegation will be covered from the first part. The second item—assistance to the organizers—proceeds from the premise that it is not just a Korean festival, but a festival for all of us. The organizing committee has asked us, for example, for 150 teletype machines, 12 ambulance cars, 12 parachutes for the closing program, synthetic textiles, floor coverings, and window glass. The third item is connected with the fact that we would like to transport 300 delegates to the DPRK from developing countries, chiefly from Latin America. Nicaragua, in particular, has no funds to spare because of the natural disaster that has struck the country. Just for illustration—the transportation of each young Nicaraguan to Pyongyang and back costs around Kcs30,000. [passage omitted]

Entry Visas Granted at Four Border Crossings

LD0101174489 Prague CTK in English 1603 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 1 (CTK)—From 0600 GMT today, Czechoslovak authorities grant entry visas to visitors to Czechoslovakia at three crossings on the Austrian border and one on the West German border.

At the border crossings Dolni Dvoriste in South Bohemia-Wullowitz, Austria, Hate in South Moravia-Kleinhaugsdorf, Austria, and Bratislava-Petrzalka-Berg, Austria, and Rozvadov, West Bohemia-to Waidhaus in the FRG, individuals or groups wanting to visit this country will be granted a visa for a visit of up to 30 days. The regulations on using Czechoslovak visas by foreigners from European states within three months and by those from outside Europe within five months of their issuing do not apply to these visas. A foreigner granted a visa at one of the four crossings must use it immediately.

The new regulations are aimed at promoting economic, cultural and humanitarian contacts with Czechoslovakia's western neighbours in the spirit of the process of detente launched at the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

Further Reportage

LD0101160889 Hamburg DPA in German 1531 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Waidhaus, (DPA)—As of today, Czechoslovakia is issuing visas at the Waidhaus/Rozvadov frontier crossing point on a trial basis for federal citizens who decide to visit the CSSR at short notice. The visa costs DM60. A valid passport and two passport photographs are required. The CSSR Government is thus meeting a long-standing wish by borderland politicians and tourist experts, and is sending a good signal for better neighborliness, Ludwig Stiegler, chairman of the Bavarian SPD group in Bonn, said on Sunday. [passage omitted]

Koruna's One-Tier Exchange Rate Announced

AU2912143688 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 23 Dec 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Koruna's New Exchange Rate"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak State Bank announces that a one-tier exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna vis-a-vis foreign currencies will be introduced as of 1 January 1989. The CSSR Government has set the starting commercial exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna at Kcs10 for 1 transferable ruble, and 2.7 times higher than the official exchange rate vis-a-vis the currencies of the nonsocialist states and the SFRY (thus the commercial exchange rate will be Kcs14.31 for U.S. $1).

As of 1 January 1989, the noncommercial exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna will be replaced by the existing official exchange rate vis-a-vis the currencies of the nonsocialist states and the SFRY, and will consist of the existing official exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna, including a supplementary bonus for noncommercial payments (the CSSR Government has set the starting rate at 1.75 higher compared with the official exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna). Thus the noncommercial exchange rate will be Kcs9.25 for U.S. $1.

As of 1 January, the Czechoslovak State Bank will announce once a week, always on Friday, the latest noncommercial and commercial exchange rates of the Czechoslovak koruna. Exchange rates will be published in HOSPODARSKE NOVINY and SVET HOSPODARSTVI, and included in the Czechoslovak television's teletext and in the REUTER news agency's system of monitors.

Tourists To Pay Surcharge

AU0401124589 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 28 Dec 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with J. Zahradnik, director of the Foreign Exchange Planning Administration of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE staffer Ota Vaclavik: "On the New Exchange Rate of the Czechoslovak Koruna"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Vaclavik] What will Czechoslovak citizens going abroad experience when buying their foreign exchange allocations?

[Zahradnik] After receiving the promise of foreign exchange allocation for journeys to the nonsocialist countries and Yugoslavia, our citizens will purchase the allocated foreign exchange at the bank at the determined noncommercial rate of exchange. For example, on 1 January 1989 he would pay Kcs9.54 for U.S.$1, Kcs5.46 for DM1, Kcs0.77 for 1 Austrian shilling, Kcs6.48 for 1 Swiss Franc, and Kcs17.42 for 1 Pound sterling. Pay attention, however! To these prices will be added a 125 percent surcharge for the development of tourism, a fee which has nothing to do with the exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna, and from the receipts of which tourist-related facilities will be built. The same applies to those who purchase pocket money at travel agencies for travel to the nonsocialist countries and Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Honecker Greets PLO's Yasir 'Arafat

LD3112101688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0300 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Latest developments have shown that the positive changes emerging in international relations favor efforts for a comprehensive, just, and lasting solution to the Middle East problem. This is stated by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, in a telegram of congratulations to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the armed forces of the Palestinian revolution, to mark the 24th anniversary of the start of the Palestinian uprising.

Erich Honecker reaffirms the GDR's support, underlined during the recent visit by Yasir 'Arafat to Berlin, for the Palestinian peace initiative, marked by reason and realism. He stressed that the GDR, like the PLO, supports the convening of an international Middle East conference under UN auspices on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council and the provision of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Erich Honecker underlines that the GDR will continue in future to stand in firm solidarity at the side of the Palestinian people.

Hager Speaks at Moscow KPD Anniversary

AU0201123789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Dec 88 p 5

[Frank Wehner dispatch from Moscow on a festive meeting on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD in the Marxism - Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow on 28 December, which was attended by an SED delegation headed by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee: "The Founding of the KPD—a Turning Point in the History of the German People"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, noted at the beginning of his speech that the founding of the KPD constituted a turning point in the history of the German workers movement and the German people. The German workers class again had a revolutionary, Marxist militant party.

Kurt Hager stated that the Great October Socialist Revolution and the example of the party of Lenin were of great importance to the founding of the KPD. In his response to the speech by Karl Radek, the USSR representative to the founding party congress, which had been received with stormy applause, Karl Liebknecht called the Soviet power "the first enormous achievement of the proletariat to realize the final socialist goal."

The imperialists' reaction was to respond with brutal violence to the founding of the KPD. The cowardly assassination of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, and many other communists was the first attempt to deprive the young party of its leaders. From there a straight line of blood led to the murder of Ernst Thaelmann and of tens of thousands of German Communists by the fascist dictatorship in Germany. [passage omitted]

It has always been the main concern of the German Communists to serve the welfare of the people, Kurt Hager said. From the very start, the KPD has linked its struggle for the fulfillment of the historic mission of the workers class, for socialism as a society of secure human rights and fulfilled life, with the class struggle to secure the direct interests of the working masses. The SED has continued the traditions of the KPD and has linked them with the best experiences of German social democracy.

Communists Warned Against the Danger of the Nazi Dictatorship at an Early Time

In the KPD's harsh and sacrificial struggle there were successes but also defeats, errors, and mistakes, as well as new, progressive insights, the speaker continued. However, the KPD has never deviated from its consistent work for the cause of the workers class and of all working people. [passage omitted]

The Main Issue: Efforts for the Unity Front

It is the historic truth that the KPD had already pointed out the danger of fascist dictatorship at a very early time and had developed its strategy and tactics to avert this danger. The main issue of this struggle against the threat of fascism was the efforts for the unity front with the SPD, with the free and Christian trade unions, and with other antifascist forces. [passage omitted] In all the years of fascist dictatorship in Germany, Kurt Hager noted, the KPD was the most organized resistance force with the clearest goals. It pursued the antifascist struggle in the country and in exile, in prisons and concentration camps, and in the International Brigades in Spain.

The Struggle Against Fascism Has Never Been Toned Down

The party always exposed and struggled against the policy of aggression of the German fascists, which had the goal of destroying the Soviet power. Therefore, the KPD assessed the German - Soviet nonaggression treaty of August 1939 as an attempt to prevent a common front of the imperialist states against the only socialist state and to win time to increase the USSR's capability to defend itself against the expected attack by Hitler's Germany. The conclusion of this treaty did not make the German Communists tone down the struggle against fascism, not even temporarily. [passage omitted] The German Communists followed with admiration the heroic efforts of the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU against the fascist aggressor. The victory of the Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-Hitler coalition also brought liberation to the German people, Hager said.

With the founding of the SED in April 1946, the unity of the workers class was realized under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard. Under the leadership of the SED, the bases of imperialism and militarism were removed for all times in a part of Germany. The GDR was established as a state of peace, whose supreme principle is to do everything so that war will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace. The speaker extensively discussed the historic achievements accomplished in the first worker-peasant state on German soil under the leadership of the party.

Cooperation With USSR Receives Qualitatively New Features

For almost 4 decades the close fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union has been a guarantee of the GDR's successful development, Kurt Hager said. The cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples is currently receiving many qualitatively new features. A contribution to this was made especially by the working meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev at the end of September 1988, where it was agreed to further expand our fraternal relations, which are unprecedented in their intensity and variety, the speaker said.

In conclusion, Kurt Hager noted that the 70th anniversary of the KPD falls in the 40th year of the existence of the GDR. By continuing to live up to its responsibility toward its own people, by successfully implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, and by preparing for its 12th congress with high performances in all fields of social life, the SED is, at the same time, making its contribution to further increasing the attractiveness of socialism, to strengthening it, and, thus, to safeguarding peace in the world. [passage omitted]

People's Auditing Committee Elections in Progress

LD0201131789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1121 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Berlin, (ADN)—The new elections of the over 20,000 commissions and 7,500 people's auditing committees of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (ABI) began in the GDR on Monday.

These voluntary bodies will report by the end of February to the various work teams about their past work, and will make proposals for still more efficient work. During the past 2 and ½ years over 283,000 workers, cooperative farmers, scientists, artisans and veterans were active as people's auditors. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 21-27 Dec

AU0101143789 [Editorial Report] GDR papers from 22 to 28 December report the following public appearances of GDR leaders:

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Hungarian Ambassador Istvan Roska for his farewell visit in Berlin on 21 December. (East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec, p 1) (filed as AU2712120088)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED CC Politburo, received Ahmed Shire Mohamoud [spelling as published], ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Somali Democratic Republic, and Richard Clark Barkley, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, for first visits in Berlin on 21 December. (East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec, p 2) (filed as AU2712115488)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, attended a discussion of the Association of Film and Television Artists in Berlin; date not given. (East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Dec, p 7)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, visited a border troops company in Nordhausen Kreis on 21 December. (East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec, p 2)

Berecz, Poszgay, Others on 1988 Highlights

LD3012163088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1823 GMT 29 Dec 88

["First-Hand Information" program phone-in talk show with Ferenc Bartha, secretary of state and chairman of the Hungarian National Bank; Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee of the MZSMP; Zoltan Biro, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum; Judit Csehak, minister of health and social security; Sandor Fekete, representing the New March Front; Zoltan Gal, deputy minister of Interior who is also responsible for Affairs of Councils and Refugees; Laszlo Marothy, minister responsible for environmental protection; Istvan Kollarik, deputy finance minister; Imre Nagy, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee; Antal Pongracz general deputy chairman of the National Youth and Sport Office; Imre Pozsgay, minister of state; Laszlo Somogyi, minister of Construction and Urban Development; Istvan Stumpf, president of MISZOT, the Council of Youth Organizations of Hungary; and Tamas Szecsko, manager of the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute; Sandor Nagy, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council absent due to illness; broadcast from the Hungarian Radio Station on 29 December—live with portions recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As promised, in the first half hour we are going to deal with the recent year, since the title of our program is also "First-Hand Information About 1988". Let us have a general question; first I would like to ask our guests what do they personally consider the most significant event of the year, regarding the country and society in general?

The second general question we shall ask you is about the events, successes, and failures of your immediate professional spheres.

Let us start with the first general question: What was the decisive event of the year in your opinion, Imre Pozsgay, minister of state?

[Pozsgay] I am at an advantage. I think several people will say this; I regard the May party conference as a decisive event. We have reached a political turning point which can help the country to prepare for the creation of democratic socialism and a constitutional state. Therefore I think that the 1988 May party conference was the beginning of a turning point, and 1989 will prove whether it was a real turning point.

[Announcer] The same question for you, Janos Berecz.

[Berecz] If I wanted to be roguish, I would say that for me it was my marriage, but I join Imre Pozsgay in saying that for me, too, the most important turning point was the May party conference, both for me personally and for the party to which I am connected and which I represent and I think the conference represented the beginning of its renewal. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What, in your narrow professional sphere, did you register as a real success in 1988? I again ask Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] That the government has implemented a new kind of approach in relations with society and sought institutionalized forms for this purpose. We would like to establish an independent government, which carries out politics in an autonomous fashion, and at this turning point, this,too, has a role. I would like to add that it was this government that began the legislation initiative which, hand-in-hand with the move toward Europeanness and constitutional statehood, will create a new human rights situation in Hungary through the preparation of a new constitution; the discovery of the techniques of freedom.

[Announcer] What represented success for Janos Berecz?

[Berecz] The fact that after the national party conference, both in the Central Committee and in the provincial organizations of the party, the process of renewal has begun. The Central Committee is agonizing, thinking, and debating about the fate of the country, its own tasks and situation, while in the counties, at party conferences, or at expanded county committee conferences the leadership is renewed, their tasks and would-be-activities are rethought. In other words, we are agonizing—together with the country—about the way out of the present situation and the renewal of the party. This was the greatest experience for me after the national party conference.

[Announcer] Let me ask Janos Berecz. I think that for a long time we have had the serious problem that the center—putting this word in quotes—had very often forced through its ideas in good cause. You mentioned the county party conferences. Many have asked: Why do they not make use of their power now when it would really be in the interest of a truly good cause that party conferences should be called at places where, for some reason, leaders are opposed to it?

[Berecz] If we had set a date—let's say if we had said that party conferences had to be held everywhere by the end of November—then it is my conviction that we could have ticked off half of the party conferences by saying: It has been held, we are still alive, we can continue. The fact that they sweat it out, struggle for it, start over again, shows that they are again dissatisfied with the decision that they had made, that they again raise the idea that a party conference is the process of the renewal of the party. It is a process not ordered from above but one which is gained by suffering and from below. It is this with which I agree and I support it and am joyful about it even if it goes on until, let's say, March. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Is the preparatory work on the new constitution suitable for the Ministry of Environment Protection, ie. is the Constitution appropriate for containing such approaches, too? Imre Pozsgay?

[Pozsgay] It is suitable, but as a fundamental law it cannot take on the regulation of environment protection, naturally. However, it can create such an order of human relations in legal terms in which anyone who harms the environment is a criminal and can be called to account. This fact is interesting, not primarily in terms of sanctions, but in approach. The Constitution will not lay down regulations on the environment. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What success did a Hungarian banker have in 1988? Ferenc Bartha.

[Bartha] I think that it was the fact that in this situation in which the environment had become very free, we managed to improve the dollar-related goods exchange balance by 800 million dollars, which far exceeded our expectations. Our balance of payments, too, has improved by about half of this; we have spent the other half—above the plan—for private travels, about 300 million dollars surplus was spent, as planned, [as heard] while the rest was spent on interest payments, extra interest payments. It is also a success that with the very strict financial policy, the very tight credit which has existed through the year, through several crises, with high interest rates, with a very high, 60-80 billion forints in pending credits in the course of the year, we have really been able to countervail the worse position of the budget, we were able to achieve that despite the very many unfavorable changes; the inflation rate did not significantly exceed the planned 15 per cent. Finally, it is a success that the financial and accounting systems did not collapse under these circumstances but that, dancing on the brink, we are really at the point that we planned to be in our internal financial program. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Istvan Kollarik, and the tax.

[Kollarik] Strange but I will not talk about tax, but I was thinking about whether there were any successes in the past year. [passage omitted] I consider it a very important success that the country managed to stay on its feet, and what's more, that favorable processes have begun and these prove that the government's stabilization program is, in the final analysis, capable of helping us to climb out of the present situation. [passage omitted] I consider it a success that we hear things from the National Assembly and from others these days which we ourselves wanted to achieve earlier. So as not to beat around the bush let me say that we have always sought to balance a budget not by raising taxes but rather, through the reduction of expenditures. However, the reduction of expenditures can be achieved only in political, ideological, and social interrelations—for whether the health service is free is not primarily a financial technical question, and what we do in social policy is not primarily a fiscal issue—in other words these are questions which we must settle and we must very urgently carry out a budget reform. Thus, the fact that we are hearing these demands with the view to implementing them is a success in my view. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Janos Berecz's view on the local councils?

[Berecz] I do not want to be provocative, but in my view, this is the first time in many years, a decade, that the refugee problem has surfaced in Hungary, that people have escaped from somewhere else to here, and that we have started to determine, grapple with their fate—precisely under the direction and care of Comrade Gal—I would say, on his behalf, that this, too, is a success. [words indistinct] it was not born out of this situation but the fact that we did and are solving it still represents the success and achievement of the institution, and Gal too, personally participated in it.

[Gal] I would regard it as a real success for ethnic Hungarians in Romania to live happily there, to enjoy their human rights there instead of our having to help a few thousand people via the Interministerial Committee here.

[Berecz] I agree with this, but still, if we resolve a situation which is foisted upon us, then we must register it as a success. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What was the failure last year? Janos Berecz?

[Berecz] It was that we were a year late with the party conference—possibly 2 years late. I think the 13th party congress was unsuccessful, without results, and in terms of its consequences a heavy burden. It would have been better if the party conference had taken place in 1985.

[Announcer] Imre Pozsgay?

[Pozsgay] It is a failure that the mass of the politically nameless is still too large; the self-organizing of society has begun only in the visible politics and the real turning point has not taken place yet. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Ferenc Bartha?

[Bartha] For me, the failure is that society is living through this extra achievement which we set as a goal as if it were a failure. Partly because of this the rest of the world sees it as half a success or half a failure. Thus, we cannot make capital out of it as we would like to and the achievement of the people and the country will pay only to a lesser extent toward improving the external system of conditions, let us say, as a result. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] According to Radio Ujsag, Peter Medgyessy, Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy should be here, but he has left for Europe. As you know, it was rumored that he had fallen because of the Lorant Street scandal and that he was going to be sent to Bonn as an ambassador. We visited him before he left and asked him what was the truth of this.

[Begin Medgyessy recording] One never knows who is going where in the coming months. To the best of my knowledge, I will be serving in that capacity next year. As for the Lorant Street affair, I think it has many lessons for us. I cannot fall as a person for such a thing for the simple reason that I did not get an apartment there, because I did not take any step which could have harmed anybody financially. Still the affair has lessons which it would be worthwhile to think about. It is a big lesson for me, and for every minister because it is applicable for that time, that the responsibility of a minister is related not only to national issues but to the apparatus, too, and also it is the case that he must control the apparatus.

Second, the Ministry of Finance must, like any other ministry, be subject to control, because he who checks must also be checked. So I think that, because of this too, I believe in the creation of a supreme audit office for reasons of principle because the Ministry of Finance, too, must be subjected to control. The system of regulations which allow people to get in through the back door is not a good one. And, finally, irregularities have occurred for which those who are responsible must be called to account- - this, by the way, has taken place. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Now we'll have questions which, for the most part, have been put by our listeners to our guests in writing. Let us start with Imre Pozsgay, Mrs Daniel Paulik from Apostag asks: Would the question of a multiparty system have arisen if—and I quote—the petty monarchs had not abused the party's power? And who are the Stalinists?

[Pozsgay] There is no doubt that this also played a part in the demand for a multiparty system, although another kind of need is also formulated in this demand, and it is that which I consider more important. Society felt, on the whole, that power was unsupervised and could make arbitrary decisions and that some institution should be created for the supervision of power. In this regard there is no doubt that European political culture has, up to now, been able to display the multiparty system as the most developed form. For this reason I do not consider it either an unnatural or an extraordinary demand—need—if today Hungarian society, weighing up also the experiences of its past decades, raises the question of a multiparty system. I would add to this that power is a delicate tool. One can abuse it, and without doubt the citizens feel the abuses of those people who exert power immediately above them, or on them. However, I consider of even greater significance the loss which society suffers when a badly functioning, unsupervised power, capable of arbitrary decisions, squanders the capacity which would be needed for a nation's advance and progress. It is this with which we are now at grips, as a matter of fact. That it has become undoubtedly clear that new thoughts can spring not only from a single political center, but from the circles of a society organized at several levels, one that is nowadays described—to use a fashionable term—as pluralist or pluralistic. Thus today political scientists and citizens alike are agonizing about precisely this issue, not for incomprehensible reasons, but for understandable ones.

[Announcer] The question had a second part: Who are the Stalinists?

[Poszgay] I think we have to be careful with expressions. Since I myself have also been a victim of, have suffered from, the consequences of appellations of one kind or another, it would not be a good thing if we were to go up a street in which everyone was given a name. Because if someone gives me a name, he puts a stamp upon me. Let me define my own self. There is no doubt that the Stalinist system—structure—has a very great responsibility to bear for the fact that people now put the question in this way, and that this is how they talk about it. However, it is not this which I would consider to be the solution from the viewpoint of Hungary's future, but if everyone could be his own nomenclator, if he could be autononmous, if he had possibilities for self-determination, and if he could experience as a citizen all that which, within the frameworks of a Stalinism, he could experience only as a subject [alattvalo]. [sentence as heard]

[Announcer] I see that Janos Berecz wants to say something.

[Berecz] I would like to add that I consider it to be the tragedy both of my party and of myself personally, too, that we had promised more than we were able to fulfill in the area of social purity, legality. What is more, we have fulfilled less than we could have. I would beware, amid today's circumstances, of starting to make qualifications and of dividing society with epithets. Because in that case, that necessary joining of forces will not come into being without which there can be no unfolding [kibontakozas].

[Announcer] Mrs Andras Balint from Budapest asks you: Between whom is the class war being waged today? And why do they keep scaring the country's people with the white terror?

[Berecz] The Newsreel of Hungarian Television this afternoon, having opened this envelope, put this question to me, and this program was broadcast some time after 1930. So I neither want, nor am I able, to give an answer different from the one I gave then. In our country today there is no class war in the classical sense. There is a political debate, a political struggle, we could say a political battle, in order that power should be as democratic as possible, as populistic as possible, as Magyar as possible. This could develop into a class war, too, once there is a struggle being waged which could have virtually uncontrollable process. That is how I understand the speech which the general secretary made in the Budapest sports hall. And for myself, I interpret it this way: That we should build democratically, legally, and that we should enact the various laws in order that we should feel good in this country. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mrs Sandor Nagy from Paks asks Judit Csehak: Why is there no upper limit on pensions? Why do some individuals get as much as 40,000 forints a month pension?

[Csehak] I think there are very few who get a 40,000 forint pension, and they are not ministers, nor leading civil servants. It so happened that last year the chairmen of a few small cooperatives received extraordinarily high salaries, on the basis of their deserved incomes, salaries, and (?export) premiums, and for this reason they also got a high pension. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Pal Gulyas from Eger and Jozsef Toszai from Kiskoros put this question to Sandor Fekete: Why does the New March Front have no membership? That is Pal Gulyas's question. And Jozsef Toszai writes: Stalin was not afraid of the Vatican because the pope has no armed divisions. The New March Front has nothing more than its name, but still many people are afraid of it.

[Fekete] I do not know who is afraid of the March Front. If we were as great a power as the pope, then we would be extremely content. But we do not even desire such power. The March Front, as NEPSZABADSAG alone among the newspapers, has reported, is a select grouping that works on the model of the Club of Rome. It has a limited membership. [passage omitted]

[Berecz] I would like to add that an organization of no matter what kind can gain strength for itself from two sources: One is if large and organized groups express opinions or take stands. The other source of strength could be the creation of intellectual values, intellectual treasures, opinionmaking. Speaking as an outsider—because I am not a member of the New March Front—I think that their strength lies in the creation, the grouping together, of intellectual values for the country, and I would add, as an outsider, also for the party. [words indistinct] They do not have a large membership, so the first thing is the creation of intellectual values, that is their main strength.

[Announcer] Endre Kadar from (Safrany) asks Zoltan Biro: Recently, in an edition of "FIRST-HAND INFORMATION", the reporter asked: Which Ferenc Muennich are we talking about? The internationalist combatant, or the chief commissioner of police who initiated the deportations? Whom do the alternative organizations consider to be their models? Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, the white terrorist, the national hero who took up arms against the fascists? Peter Veres, the writer who also published in the "ARROW CROSS", or the representative of the cooperative peasantry? Has there ever been a model of whom it could be said that he never made a mistake in his life? I think that is the essence of the question.

[Biro] I think that no such model exists, and there is no need for such a model, either. As far as Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky and Peter Veres are concerned, we accept all of Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky and all of Peter Veres because we believe that we have to accept the personalities who created something significant and important, together with their mistakes.

[Announcer] A question out of turn to Imre Pozsgay, for it is connected with this. Denes Zolkoczy from Miskolc has posed a similar question: Does Imre Pozsgay agree that our young people have as their models people like the drug addict John Lennon, or women whose way of life is worse than the whores of old, such as the much-advertized Cicciolina [Hungarian-born Italian deputy]? With the help of the minister of culture and education, and the minister of the interior, a stand should be taken against antisocialist phenomena. I think this is linked to the question of whom we set as models, whom we speak about. It is a difficult question.

[Pozsgay] It is a difficult question but I can say one thing for certain: that this is an issue that can least be resolved with the tools of power. In a society that constantly loses and seeks its way, the confusion of roles and the confusion, the mistaking, of commitments can lead to the chosing, the acceptance, of such models. In a world of mistakes and anxieties people are easily inclined—especially if they have to experience all this with the loss of perspectives—they are easily inclined to reach for numbing, narcotic tools; and these tools can unfortunately also be intellectual ones. But I repeat: just as it cannot be resolved by a pedagogic campaign, it is at least as much impossible to resolve it with police means. This will be resolved in the exacting system of values of a reorganized and reformed society. I think the solution lies in the extremely distant future. In my view, the solution is a long way away.

[Announcer] A question to Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank: What is the explanation for the fact that about half of Hungary's convertible currency debt is in Japanese yen? Because of the badly chosen currency, in connection with the strengthening of the yen, our debt increases daily by about $5 million, on account of the loss in the exchange rate. What does the Hungarian National Bank's arbitration department do in the meantime?

[Bartha] It is almost true that half the debt is in yen; in fact it is less than that. The reason is simple. The Japanese market is the most liquid one. In the past 4 to 5 years, it was there that money could be borrowed on the best terms and the most easily. The Arbitrage Department, which conducts the daily payments and the short-term conversions, could, within the framework of determined authorization, convert the currency stocks from yen, into dollars, marks into Swiss francs, into a composition which, on the one hand, meets our daily payment commitments, and on the other hand is capable of excluding the exchange rate fluctuations. Unfortunately, we do not have the means to safeguard against the long-term trends; for many years, there has been a significant divergence between the exchange rates for the dollar and other strong currencies. For this we would need extra resources which we simply do not have at our disposal, because the credit limits that are at our disposal are finite. So, the daily $5 million, which is a little exaggerated, is a theoretical figure. About half of this is realized, but this realization takes place over the full term of the loan's expiry. So if that debt, in yen, is now for 6-year term, on average, which applies to the entire stock, then this will be realized within years. In 1 year, all we lose as a result of this is the payment turnover for that year, that is one-sixth. And there is another factor which is that we counterbalance this with interest, and though not completely, we shall nevertheless be able to earn this for the large part this year. Because the interest on the strong currencies is lower. So a 5 million dollar conversion loss represents an approximately 3-5 to 4 million dollar interest gain calculated on this. And we counterbalance a proportion of the difference in daily conversion. This year we will suffer an exchange rate loss of about $70 to 80 million [passage omitted]

[Announcer] A question to Deputy Finance Minister Istvan Kollarik: What were the one billion marks, which Comrade Grosz received from West German, invested in? This question came from Zoltan Kovacs

[Kollarik] Well, I am terribly sorry, but I cannot answer this question. There are two tiny problems. One: I do not know what Comrade Grosz...oh, sorry. [Kollarik changes thought] The question concerned Marks, the taking of a loan. And in that case I do not think that this question has been put to the right person. In this event, I am obliged to pass it on to Comrade Bartha.

[Bartha] For the most part, we used it to clear our debt, contrary to our intentions. We would have liked to spend about half of it on structure-transformation developments for export purposes. Looking at this year, we can say that about 300 million marks have served this purpose, and the rest went to debt servicing. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] A question to Imre Nagy, first secretary of the KISZ: Central Committee, from Pal Gulyas in Debrecen: Was the Hajdu-Bihar KISZ trial, in which Sandor Szoradi was thrown out of office, a show trial?

[Nagy] In my view it was not a show trial, in the original sense, because it was a question of people who really had committed errors, and they were charged with things in which they had committed errors. It is another question that there can be argument about the judgement of the extent of the error. On the other hand, the expression show trial, even if not precise, is not far from the truth in this sense: In my opinion the first, second and third defendants in that trial would probably have been the 15th, 16th, 17th defendants. In other words, I thought and I still think that many were absent from the bench of defendants.

[Announcer] Peter Araczki from Szeged, does not ask, but says to Zoltan Gal, deputy minister of interior: It is an outrage that Transylvanian refguees are handed over [to the Romanian authorities]

[Gal] Well, this is the opinion of the questioner, or the alleger. I do not agree with it. I think that this question has basically to be judged on this basis: We should maintain the social tolerance shown toward those who take refuge in our country. It belongs to this also that we should not take in those with a criminal record, or the mentally sick, or perhaps even juveniles who have run away from their parents. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Now, it may not be very democratic, but the simple fact and the reality is that most of the questions have been addressed to Janos Berecz and Imre Pozsgay, and it is to them we put those questions which have been addressed to people whom we have simply been unable to invite because of lack of space. A question to Imre Pozsgay, signed a Hungarian from Pecs: Now that the National Assembly has declared 15 March our national day, a bank holiday, why did it not at the same time restore the Kossuth emblem, the country's ancient emblem?

[Pozsgay] The National Assembly did not have such a task on this occasion, but this question cannot be avoided. I think that if the Constitution comes on the agenda, then the country's symbols, emblems, will also have to be thought out anew, according to the traditions of the national history. Who now has the right to anticipate such an emblem? I think that individually none of us has. But those who draw up the constitution, will be given this commission, will have to perform this task. In my view the emblem, too, will come on the agenda.

[Announcer] A question to Janos Berecz from Dr Bela Kovacs: When will it become possible for religious people to join the MSZMP? [laughter] Does the party recognize the class nature of the intelligentsia?

[Berecz] On the class question I will make no statement, because, on the one hand, there is a class awareness among workers, peasants, and partly even among intellectuals, and on the other hand, socialogists deny that society is made up of two plus one class strata. This will balance itself out; the main thing is how people feel, where they feel themselves to belong, and how they act. As far as the question of religious people joining the party is concerned, in my view the party even now has such members, and they can join.

[Announcer] A question to Imre Pozsgay, which is practically connected with this, from Tamas Vizaknai retired Calvinist pastor from Komlo: Mr Pozsgay, can you now say with a clear conscience that believers and nonbelievers enjoy equal respect and esteem in political, economic, social and cultural life?

[Pozsgay] Nobody can say this. There will be no such thing. It is certain that there will be conflicts, tensions between people of different world outlooks, political intentions. I hope that these will be open, public. I would add one thing: that the political leadership which todays feels responsibility for the country's future, does not wish, as far as intentions go, to make any distinction between religious believers and nonreligious people. From this viewpoint I profess a very down-to-earth outlook: In my eyes a person, a religious person, who loves his family, who works for the community, who is responsible, means more than an aetheist who is a scoundrel. [applause]

[Announcer] Janos Berecz.

[Berecz] I wish to add my comment because Vizaknai has been corresponding with me for 5 years. Regularly, diligently, with great attention, he warns me about various abuses, theoretical renewals, emotional, moral issues, so I would like to say to him from here: Do not stop. Be a diligent correspondent, help us in making sure that the renewal should also be accompanied by moral renewal.

[Announcer] I have a question here; I do not honestly know whom it concerns. Possibly Laszlo Somogyi, it is also possible that it concerns Judit Csehak. Maria Balla from Budapest writes: In November a proportion of workers in Tengiz came home on account of the cold. The writer heard from them that 27 Hungarian workers had died in a gas explosion. Why were we not informed about this? I would like to add that I do not know if this news is true.

[Somogyi] Well, at that time I was in Tengiz, so the question is extremely good. There was no gas explosion. I was in Tengiz between 11 and 14 November. Afterwards there was a car accident, where I think two people died and two people were seriously injured. This was a car accident. So, there was no gas explosion. There are enormous safety installations and measures in Tengiz. There was no technical accident at all connected with Tengiz. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] I cannot refrain from remarking that if, let us say, a three-line communique had been issued saying that two people died in Tengiz in a road accident, the gossip could have been avoided.

[Somogyi] It is not our custom to report such accidents involving workers abroad. There are regular briefings about Tengiz; it is not our custom to report these foreign car accidents in particular.

[Berecz] If it has not been our custom to do this, then what I would say is it should be our custom. [applause] It is part of openness [nyilvanossag]. [applause]

[Announcer] Since we are with Janos Berecz, then here are two questions: Is there any plan to change the name of the MSZMP? In specific terms, what Dr Janos Nagy from Budapest had in mind is that its name perhaps might change to all-people's party [oessznepi part] instead of Workers' Party. And the other question is: Don't the leaders think that in such a difficult economic situation one should not necessarily travel by Mercedes?

[Berecz] As far as the name is concerned, in my view this is not a principled, not an essential issue. We can continue to bear this name for 100 years even, if things go well and our policies are good. We do not have to renounce its being also a workers' party, since the intelectual worker is also a worker. Everyone who works decently and respectably can say he belongs to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

As far as the Mercedes are concerned, in my view, for driving in to work, in the streets of Budapest, a Zhiguli, a Lada, is sufficient. For going to the provinces, I tell everyone to be tolerant if a leader goes by in a Mercedes; it is faster and safer. I usually say that it is not the Mercedes that has to be exchanged, if it is not suited, but the leader, if he is not suited to it. It is not the conditions that have to be made worse for the leader, but the leader who has to be exchanged.

[Announcer] A question to Sandor Fekete: Why did you not rejoin the writers' association? It is a good question.

[Fekete] It is a good question, but I do not think it is important for the country. This action of resigning in a bad political situation based in my view on hasty concepts, on the part of the direction as well, turned out badly. I will once document it in writing that I was opposed to the resignations for weeks; I predicted that not even 10 percent would resign. When I nevertheless did resign I proposed that we should be pluralist, pluralistic, and that there should be several writers' associations, according to tendencies. There is nothing scandalous about this, because in the same period the musicians split into two organizations, and no one batted an eye. It did not occasion a national revolt or an international sensation that there are two groupings for musicians. Now, what was expected to happen did happen. Very few people left. It was not possible to bring several writers' associations into being, but I feel that some people involved in its direction did not even want this. And at the communist aktiv of the writers' association they said that if there was going to be two or three writers' associations, then tomorrow they would also want two or three trade unions, two or three youth leagues...

[Announcer, interrupting] When was this?

[Fekete] In spring 1987. [laughter] Where would this lead? Well, it led to the fact that we were left with one writers' association. It fulfilled such a large political function, let us say, also largely an opposition political function. It made partly justified criticisms and partly, here or there, maybe—at least in my view—it politicized in a way that was open to criticism. This situation has changed; the various alternative movements, groupings, have come into being. The writers' association does not play a political role of this kind, as it did formerly. Some of those who left have rejoined. I am not one of those who runs now in and now out of an organization. [passage omitted] I will now stay out.

[Announcer] Janos Berecz wants to say something, but let me immediately ask him a question which is also addressed to Zoltan Biro. It was addressed to Zoltan

Biro, but the question also concerns Janos Berecz, and it is this: The Democratic Forum, whose representative is fortunately here among us, is obviously wrestling with problems of accommodation. In other words, there are material conditions which ought to be created. The anonymous caller—the question was put by telephone—drew my attention to the fact that in the Soviet Union the canvassers' expenses at the parliamentary elections are supported from central funds. Can a solution be found to these problems?

[Berecz] First of all I would say something to the previous question, because this program is not going out on television, and people could not see that Sandor Fekete looked at me when he said that there was also central encouragement and initiative for the resignations.

I will now disclose a secret connected with myself. A week after the general assembly of the writers' association Miklos Hubay came to me and asked: Should I resign or should I not resign? I said to him: 1) This is a question of your conscience, decide yourself. 2) I would not resign from an organization where up til now I have been chairman. But this is your affair. So, this encouragement was not unequivocal from every direction, for those who resigned.

Actually, I am in full agreement with Sandor Fekete. It is entirely his own affair if he joins or resigns. This is how he decided; I respect this.

With regard to the problems of premises of Democratic Forum, if it has problems in this regard, because at the moment the tent in Lakitelek is a legendary solution. In my view, when the National Assembly passes the law on association and assembly, afterward many kinds of solutions will be possible. In so far as we hold discussions, we agree with regard to the country's and the nation's fate, we may even share premises as well.

[Biro] We do indeed have problems with premises, and many other problems, too, naturally. The Lakitelek tent may indeed be legendary, and we remember it with pleasure, but from this Lakitelek tent one cannot politicize for long. I think, as a matter of fact—and my colleagues no doubt agree with me in this—that naturally we would not be pleased to accept any kind of material assistance, any kind of material goods, as some kind of gift, state gift. I think that if this so-called pluralism really breaks out in this country, then the question of what proportion the new organizations, movements, should receive from that extremely tiny proportion of the national wealth—from which the social organizations today, the MSZMP, the KISZ and other organizations receive, that should then be the subject of discussions. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] A question to Deputy Interior Minister Zoltan Gal from Janos Tomonboczi, and I also recommend this question to the attention of Tamas Szecsko: Why do the Transylvanian refugees get dwellings out of turn? And I also put this question to Tamas Szecsko because I would like to know if we have any exact information as to how Hungarian public opinion judges the refugee issue; is Hungarian society united on this issue? But first I would like the concrete answer.

[Gal] Well, the Transylvanian refugees do not get dwellings out of turn. On the other hand, a few people who are in such a situation, people with families first and foremost, they are supported by the interdepartmental committee, from the settlement fund, for the purpose of acquiring homes. What this means mostly is that individual enterprises restore certain neglected dwellings, primarily in order that the refugees might live near to the enterprise. So in this manner we do support their acquiring homes, from the settlement fund. But apart from this they cannot obtain housing allocation, and so far it has not been allowed to put them on the housing list either. And before Tamas Szecsko replies, let me say that it is justified to ask how society reacts to this situation. My view for the time being is—and Tamas Szecsko may refute this—that the decisive majority of Hungarian society is tolerant toward the refugees. In so far as scientific assessment is concerned, the interdepartmental committee is financing research which will measure society's reaction.

[Unidentified speaker] Connected with the housing issue, I would supplement and fully confirm what Comrade Gal has said. On the other hand, in our smaller settlements in the provinces there are rundown, empty dwellings which Hungarian citizens do not require. Naturally, this committee offers these to the refugees, if they are able to settle there. But there is nothing at all out of turn. This can be checked very precisely at the councils.

[Szecsko] Precisely because the social research information association is conducting such a survey, as the deputy interior minister has mentioned, we have not dealt separately with this issue. In connection with other issues, however, it emerges that public opinion is very positive on the government's stance relating to the Transylvanian refugees. We have conducted a survey about the 17 months of the Grosz government, and it showed that on the positive side of the government's activity almost at the head of the list stands the fact that Hungary has received the Transylvanian refugees.

[Announcer] Janos Berecz has already mentioned that today "Television Newsreel" has put to him some of the questions sent in to us. In connection with the refugees, we have to mention the question of whether he still considers Ceausescu to be his brother. Since then we have received another question, asked whether we do not want to bestow on him the Hungarian People's Republic Order of the Star? [laughter and applause]

[Berecz] With regard to the question, my answer is not determined by my mood. I repeat what I said to "Television Newsreel". I did not consider him my brother either yesterday or today. On the other hand, on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements, I consider him an ally both yesterday and today, and I accept this. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Miklos Torda of Budapest has asked Janos Berecz: How will the party seek to regain the confidence of the people, the lower party membership?

[Berecz] This is a very big question, and as party leaders, we are agonizing, struggling, and having a hard time over this ourselves. The possibility for regaining confidence lies first of all in creating such a policy that may lead to a way out of the present situation and to an inner democracy in party life, in building politics upwards from below, and thirdly, in making basic organizations the focus of party work. For the leading role of the party does not depend on 1, 11, or 108 persons, but on the 800,000 people who count themselves as party members and want to implement the policy which they feel is in the national interest.

[Announcer] How do the alternative organizations affect the regaining of this confidence?

[Berecz] The alternative organizations influence this by creating a situation of competition. We are forced, by putting aside considerations of comfort, to respond to those issues which society, the alternative organizations as society and as social phenomena raise, so that we have a stance concerning those questions. [sentence as heard]

[Announcer] The representative of an alternative organization, that of the Democratic Forum.

[Biro] I would like to take issue with Janos Berecz on an earlier issue, the Ceausescu question. I understand very well that a party, a government has treaty obligations, but we see—and I think that the entire Hungarian society sees it this way—that it is absurdity itself. This kind of alliance is an absurdity, it is an absurdity to call the situation existing between Ceausescu-led Romania and Hungary as an alliance. The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], as an alternative, believes that this policy must be changed because it is unworthy of us, and it is unworthy in general of the ideal of humanism.

[Announcer] Janos Berecz.

[Berecz] We have three possibilities. First, on the basis of international treaties we maintain the alliance obligation, and at the same time give voice to the truth. Second, we maintain the international treaty, but we do not fulfil bilateral treaties. Third, we declare war; I think that in this respect, although it would have some force of (?change in the) mood in terms of the soul, I think that such a step would not be timely.

[Announcer] A few days ago a daily wrote that there is a very great demand for us to renounce the international legal agreement with Romania on dual citizenship. I think that Zoltan Gal knows a lot about this, but first I ask Janos Berecz if the issue is discussed at the top level of politics.

[Berecz] At the top level of politics we think that it is necessary to create a law of migration-emigration. From this point of view, or rather in the course of the formulation of this law, all such dual obligations are to be renounced, and it will be possible to proceed on this basis.

[Announcer] Zoltan Gal.

[Gal] I think that no state turns with pleasure to this method of renouncing international treaties. Such a move also weakens that nation's position in international politics. The citizenship of the refugees is really a great problem. We must be able to give a lie to the illusion we had at the start of the year, namely, that it is a transient phenomenon, that we were talking about people who were going to flee, but will later return to their homeland. We must realize that many thousands will not return; they want to live here, and in order to settle their status in a finite and stable fashion the issue of their citizenship, too, must be settled. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] I would like to add that there is no gap between the party, the party membership and society. Members of the party—not only members of the mass party, but members of the leading party, too—are organically linked to this society, and the problem stems from and occurs when such a vast party membership is forced to a single, reduced role, that is, that it has no other thing to do but to assure those above of its constant approval; this has happened once or twice in the history of this party. This, on the other hand, cannot be acceptable for the party member. He meets society rather than his own leadership. It was this crisis which had to be overcome, so to speak, at the May party conference, and if no further confidence-building process comes out of this—about which Janos Berecz has spoken—then in the final analysis the real turning point has not been reached.

The alternative organizations, in a situation of competition and enforced path—I agree with this—are not against the stability of the country. I see greater danger in that nameless political mass about which I have already spoken in some other connection. A silent society, but one which builds up its emotions poses a danger from the point of governability which is greater than the appearance of any kind of competitor on the political battlefield.

[Announcer] A listener, Laszlo Avarosi asks Zoltan Biro and Sandor Fekete whether they are harassed because of their political views?

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[Announcer] Janos Berecz.

[Berecz] We have three possibilities. First, on the basis of international treaties we maintain the alliance obligation, and at the same time give voice to the truth. Second, we maintain the international treaty, but we do not fulfil bilateral treaties. Third, we declare war; I think that in this respect, although it would have some force of (?change in the) mood in terms of the soul, I think that such a step would not be timely.

[Announcer] A few days ago a daily wrote that there is a very great demand for us to renounce the international legal agreement with Romania on dual citizenship. I think that Zoltan Gal knows a lot about this, but first I ask Janos Berecz if the issue is discussed at the top level of politics.

[Berecz] At the top level of politics we think that it is necessary to create a law of migration-emigration. From this point of view, or rather in the course of the formulation of this law, all such dual obligations are to be renounced, and it will be possible to proceed on this basis.

[Announcer] Zoltan Gal.

[Gal] I think that no state turns with pleasure to this method of renouncing international treaties. Such a move also weakens that nation's position in international politics. The citizenship of the refugees is really a great problem. We must be able to give a lie to the illusion we had at the start of the year, namely, that it is a transient phenomenon, that we were talking about people who were going to flee, but will later return to their homeland. We must realize that many thousands will not return; they want to live here, and in order to settle their status in a finite and stable fashion the issue of their citizenship, too, must be settled. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] I would like to add that there is no gap between the party, the party membership and society. Members of the party—not only members of the mass party, but members of the leading party, too—are organically linked to this society, and the problem stems from and occurs when such a vast party membership is forced to a single, reduced role, that is, that it has no other thing to do but to assure those above of its constant approval; this has happened once or twice in the history of this party. This, on the other hand, cannot be acceptable for the party member. He meets society rather than his own leadership. It was this crisis which had to be overcome, so to speak, at the May party conference, and if no further confidence-building process comes out of this—about which Janos Berecz has spoken—then in the final analysis the real turning point has not been reached.

The alternative organizations, in a situation of competition and enforced path—I agree with this—are not against the stability of the country. I see greater danger in that nameless political mass about which I have already spoken in some other connection. A silent society, but one which builds up its emotions poses a danger from the point of governability which is greater than the appearance of any kind of competitor on the political battlefield.

[Announcer] A listener, Laszlo Avarosi asks Zoltan Biro and Sandor Fekete whether they are harassed because of their political views?

oppose it with democratic tools, not the tools of power. It could be hindered with the tools of power, but that would create tense social relations.

We think that in January, parliament will debate the law of association, one of the sections of which stipulates that a law on parties is also necessary, and that the law on parties should regulate the circumstances in which some kind of parties can come into being amid social circumstances which are ready for it. Concerning your opinion that in essence it exists already, for the political institutions of the expression of interests—call this the HDF, or something else—also means some kind of particular party forum [word indistinct] [sentence as heard]. This is what we think about this. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Democratic Forum Proposes Refugee Camp

LD0301182489 Budapest MTI in English
1735 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 3 (MTI)—In a statement forwarded to MTI Hungarian News Agency on Tuesday, the provisional board of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) proposed to set up a refugee camp near the Hungarian- Romanian border.

In view of the situation that has emerged on the Hungarian-Romanian border, the contradictory rumours, the shocking news on the forceful repatriation of some refugees, the inexplicable measures of some border authorities and the lack of uniform direction generally, the provisional board holds it necessary to establish a refugee camp close to the border.

The statement considers it a fundamental principle that the Hungarian nation cannot be obliged to give unlimited shelter to hostile elements, posing a danger to the internal order of the country, but the MDF board holds the resolute position that no one should be sent back to Romania without careful investigation.

MDF proposes to set up the refugee camp with international support and the involvement of the agencies of the United Nations, as soon as possible.

"The Hungarian Democratic Forum, commensurate with its modest means, will make every effort to support this initiative," runs the statement of the provisional board.

Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Zoltan Gal, head of the inter-ministerial committee in charge of the affairs of foreign citizens staying in Hungary, told an MTI correspondent that he had also raised the idea of a refugee camp in one of his previous statements. The related talks are under way in the Ministry of Internal Affairs but no decision has yet been made. Mr Gal added that it would take some time to set up a refugee camp. He said, however, that the ministry supported the idea of establishing a camp because the current, relatively quick method of controlling the Romanian refugees does not exclude the possibility of error. As common criminals can also cross the border, the checking of individuals is in the interest of society.

It would create better conditions if the refugees were temporarily accommodated in a camp provided with health and social-welfare facilities. However, this would entail much higher costs than the current practice.

The illegal immigrants would be obliged to present themselves in the refugee camp, and after examination, would receive a temporary residence permit granting them free movement in the country. The camp would be run by administrative authorities such as the Ministry of the Interior that is in charge of local councils, and as it would be financed from the settlement fund, guidance of the inter-ministerial committee is considered desirable.

Independent Weekly To Be Published

LD0201180189 Budapest MTI in English
1725 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 2 (MTI)—An independent political weekly entitled "JELENLET" (Presence) is to be issued in Debrecen from March by the Inform Studio Ltd., editor-in-chief Laszlo Gorombolyi told the press on Monday. Inform Studio was founded by 14 institutions, companies and individuals in Hajdu-Bihar County on January 2 with a starting capital of 7.2 million forints. The company is to diversify its activities with the publication of books and music scores, advertising, organization of exhibitions, market research, and a computerized house agency.

The editors set the aim of exploring the background of social issues of public interest. The weekly will not be affiliated to any political organization. The first issue of "JELENLET" is to come out on March 15 and be distributed nationwide.

Construction, Transportation Ministries Merge

LD0301013589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2300 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Text] The minister of transport, telecommunications and construction has been inaugurated into office. Andras Derzsi was elected to head the ministry by the National Assembly in December. It was said at the inauguration that the recently relieved state secretaries of the merged ministries will help, as government commissioners, in shaping the organization and operation of the new ministry, until the end of April. The two outgoing ministers, Lajos Urban and Laszlo Somogyi, by the way, will be given new assignments in the future.

Siwicki Interviewed on Changes in Army

LD0301180789 Warsaw PAP in English 1516 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 3,—PUWP CC Political Bureau member, national defence minister, Gen. Florian Siwicki granted an interview for the Polish press agency on the ongoing transformations in the Polish Army. Excerpts:

Premises for Changes

Advantageous, qualitatively new phenomena and trends have emerged in the international situation in recent years. The energetic activity of the socialist states, especially the efforts of the Soviet Union, aimed at securing lasting peace, begin to bear fruit.

As concerns the military plane, one can notice gradually overcoming of distrust, built up over long years, by both alliances' states. I will refer here to the recent official visit to Poland by Norwegian minister Johan Jorgen Holst, the first NATO state defence minister to visit this country since 1980.

The decision made last Nov. 21 by Poland's National Defence Committee (KOK) also stems from the evaluation of Poland's economic situation. (KOK discussed modifications to organizational structures of the armed forces - ed.)

The socialist states decided to make the first step towards reduction of assymetry. We expect the NATO side to reciprocate.

Warsaw Treaty states, through their unilateral reduction moves, particularly so far-reaching as the ones recently announced from the U.N. rostrum by CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, want to tangibly prove their real intentions, want to open a credit of confidence and inspire the other side to undertake similar activities.

Decisions of the National Defence Committee also make the proposals contained in the Jaruzelski Plan credible in practice.

The new expression of the defensive character of our war doctrine entails concrete changes in the ways of implementing defense tasks and thus in the shape of armed forces.

Rationalizing and saving ventures in the armed forces and limiting of supplies of equipment and armaments for them release additional means for the national economy. This is our contribution to the plan for consolidating the economy.

I want to stress that also in the past years we were very moderate in planning the shape of the armed forces. For instance, over the past two years, we reduced numerical strength of our armed forces by about 15,000 soldiers and withdrew many planes, tanks, artillery guns and other types of equipment of older generations from the weaponry.

Structural Changes in the Armed Forces

These changes generally boil down to the following ventures:

—We will abolish, reduce or merge some central military institutions and even kinds of the armed forces,

—We plan to merge some military academies and higher officers' schools with similar profiles of teaching,

—We intend to reduce the numerical strength of some kinds of armed forces and troops, that is, we want to maintain fewer units but with a high combat efficiency, equipped with the best weaponry we can afford, and capable of swiftly responding to every possible threat,

—We will increase the number of units with a clearly reduced personnel force in peace time.

—We will reduce the number of reservists called up for exercises.

—We will introduce these changes gradually in the coming years, maintaining the army's necessary combat readiness.

At the same time, we will ensure making proper use of cadre, from re-organized or dissolved units and will transfer it where we feel staff shortage now.

We assume that these changes will bring considerable, running into tens of thousands, benefits concerning full-time posts and big material and financial savings, including the investment ones.

State Spending on Defence

In the to-date practice spendings on defence averaged some four percent of the national income, this meaning that increased income was coupled with increased defence expenses in absolute terms.

If peace trends are lasting, they will make it possible for us to ensure national security at a correspondingly lower cost.

A process of reduction of defence budget is a logical consequence of this. In the year 1989 this will enable us to reduce defence spendings by four percent in comparable figures, compared to expected execution of the plan for 1988. This means a departure from the principle of a rolling increase in defence expenses, mentioned above.

The share of these expenses in national income distributed will fall from 3.8 percent in 1988 to 3.6 percent in 1989. The share of the national defence ministry's budget in expenses of the state budget will decrease from 7.7 percent to 5.5 percent over the time.

The draft budget law for 1989, filed with the Sejm, specifies defence spending at 954,000 million zlotys.

Information about the size of the expenditures for defence is accessible for all interested in the diariusz sejmowy (Sejm records) and the materials published by the GUS main statitistical office.

Defense Industry for Production

Our defence industry does not constitute a separate branch of the national economy. These are industrial plants which have a so-called status of enterprisess of the defence industry. They produce both for military needs as well as the consumer market, for domestic and foreign buyers. They use an average 38 percent of their potentials for defence produciton.

At present a chance surfaces to make use of the released potentials to start broader market production. Apart from this, our army will continue to act for the economic development of the country, especially in agriculture, transport, construction as well as in some branches of industry.

If the other Side Does Not Meet the Disarmament Challenge

This would entail a tremendous damage to the great cause of international detente.

Nonetheless, security matters are today so strongly tied on the international scale with matters of political and economic cooperation that it would be difficult (for the other side -ed.) to act in the opposite direction.

In assessing the situation we must be guided by realism, the more so that excluding force from the policy of NATO states is not yet a fait accompli. This realism obliges us to maintain defence capability appropriately to the scale of the potential threat.

Politburo 10th Plenum Theses Published

AU2812060188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU (Supplement) in Polish 17-18 Dec 88

[Politburo Theses for the 10th Central Committee Plenum: "Party Reform—A Condition for the Success of the Strategy of Renewal and Reform"]

[Text] I.

THE POLISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM TODAY

A Reform of the Party

1. A thorough reform of the PZPR is a necessity. A reevaluation of the party's role in the state, in the economy, and in the life of the nation is becoming an essential condition for success in establishing a new shape for socialism. This is the basic conclusion and duty stemming from the present lively disputes and discussions inside and outside the party. This is our requirement of today and our challenge for tomorrow.

We must not neglect transformations. Delay in carrying them out, or doing so superficially, would only hasten a collapse in confidence in the party and a fall in its influence, especially among workers. Furthermore, it would have an even stronger effect on the bonds between some party members on the one hand and the rest of the party, its policy, and the party leadership on the other, and would undermine our ability to lead the workers class and the whole of society.

2. Socialism has entered a creative development stage, but one that is full of discrepancies. This is so not just in Poland, but all over the world. Two basic problems are emerging in the theory and practice of those socialist countries that have commenced the work of reforms: the problem of changes in the relationships of authority, and the problem of ownership relations.

3. In many spheres of political changes, the Polish solutions possess a pioneer-like nature and are blazing new trails. The convergence between and joint rhythm of the Polish renewal and Soviet reconstruction are providing greater reformist energy and are permitting a joint search for the best solutions. This is encouraged by the new quality of relations between our states; a real internationalism consisting of a profound respect for the individual rights for everyone, real allied joint activity, and partner-like loyalty.

4. Only a modern party with an unequivocal ideological-political identity can meet the historic challenge faced by socialism and meet social expectations halfway. This can only be done by a party that thinks boldly, acts effectively, enjoys a strong position among the workers class, and guarantees the fulfillment of its historic aims. It can only be done by a party whose daily activity stems from genuine social needs, not mere traditions and doctrinal assumptions. It can only be done by a party in which experience gained with age is harmoniously combined with youthful energy; a party free of excessive centralism and bureaucracy; a party that is open to various outlooks. It can only be done by a party that is attractive to qualified and socially energetic workers, enlightened farmers, and the leading intelligentsia.

That is the most profound essence of the reformist changes in the PZPR.

5. The party does not exist purely for itself and for its own glory. It is and wants to be a vanguard force in fulfilling class, national, and human objectives. Even if the party performs just this role, society needs it.

The Implementation of the Strategy of Renewal and Reforms

6. The creation of socialism is a task of historic dimensions that is spread out over the lives of entire generations. We are just at the very beginning. However, repeating this fact does not excuse the sense of unfulfillment and the lack of efficiency and long-awaited successes that we feel today.

7. A long and difficult road separates us from the August workers protests, the ninth extraordinary congress, and the beginning of the process of renewal.

8. Quite simply, today's Poland is a different Poland in many respects. The 1980's will go down as a very important period, perhaps even a turning-point, in the contemporary history of our country.

What are the main trends that have shaped this decade? Extensive change in all areas of the country's life; the gradual surmounting of far-reaching economic collapse; the creation of innovative principles for the organization of the state and society; constant progress with respect to democracy, self-management, openness, and the consolidation of civil rights and freedoms; changes in society's political awareness and behavior; and the dissemination of the belief that profound changes are essential in Poland.

9. The foundations of a new system of management are crystallizing. The state's role in the economy is gradually changing. In line with the dictates of economic laws, it is focusing on socioeconomic development strategy. Employee self-management has been consolidated and developed. The terms enterprise, efficiency and the market, prices, profit, and economic accountability are recovering their importance with a view to releasing production initiative and basing society's economic life on rational and efficient foundations.

10. We have introduced profound changes into the political system. National accord has been increased. The institutional role of representative organs of power has been stepped up. The Sejm has become the real center of state power. The practice of holding social consultations and opinion polls has been enriched by the addition of a new form of direct democracy—the referendum. The principles underlying the law and observance of the law have been strengthened. New institutions that protect constitutional norms, law observance, and civil rights are operating with increasing efficiency. They include the Constitutional Tribunal, the State Tribunal, the office of Spokesman for Civil Rights, and the Supreme Administrative Court. Government by coalition has acquired a higher political and institutional status. This applies to the alliance between the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD, and to cooperation with Catholic and lay Christian organizations. This principle has assumed concrete form in PRON—a forum for various form of dialogue and cooperation between party members and people with no party affiliations. The road to an expansion of the principle of coalition in state power is open. This is reflected in, among other things, the activities of the Consultative Council attached to the office of chairman of the State Council and voivodship civic assemblies. Ideas such as pluralism, independence, self-management, civil freedoms, and diverse sources and forms of information are assuming a more and more concrete form. Political culture has changed—openness is increasing in political life, and there is more freedom in discussion and exploration. New mechanisms have come into being for reconciling diverse public aspirations and views. The scope for expressing constructive opposition has been increased. The search for forms for the stable and legal operation of this type of opposition within the framework of the political system is continuing.

11. The trade union movement that has been revived and is being strengthened: It is autonomous and independent, defends the interests of working people, and sees itself as a real partner of the government and the state and economic administrations. It is a movement that is continuing its search and is still open to new suggestions concerning its organization and programs.

12. All this also represents an achievement for the party and attests to the vitality of its thought with respect to programs and its political and organizational strength.

13. Much has changed in the party itself since the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It continues to be the same, although in broad terms it is not the same as it was 8 years ago. A new form of party activity is gradually taking shape. Discussions and open searches for the substance of programs have ceased to be something that is called for, and are increasingly becoming practice in party activity. In the party, there is less and less schematic behavior and activity for show, and more and more objectivity and authenticity. Habits arising from the principles of democratic election are being consolidated. There are many outstanding people in the party, and there are bold searches and innovative concepts and experiments going on within it.

14. However, there have also been subjective lapses and mistakes on the path that we have traveled. There has been a lack of consistency and resolve, and statements have sometimes been at variance with action. There have been poor cadre decisions and weaknesses in exacting accountability for the tasks that are adopted and personal responsibility for the accomplishment of these tasks.

15. There is a justified belief that the party could have made better and more effective use of the years that have passed since the 10th congress.

The 10th congress initiated the process of accelerating the renewal of the state and society, the creation of new democratic institutions, and the expansion of the platform of national accord. It initiated the second stage of the economic reform. It adopted the first "PZPR Program."

What satisfies expectations and, in part, accords with what is objectively possible, is not the work produced by the 10th congress, but the implementation of the decisions that were made at it and the post-congress resolutions adopted at plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

16. The creation of socialism is not proceeding according to a detailed model that is set out in advance, but as an open search for the most suitable solutions. All the effects of the collision between the "new and the old" are making themselves felt in this process. Conflicts of interest between various social groups are appearing, and the tangled network of ties stemming from bureaucratic distortions of social and economic life are being revealed. This is the primary cause of delays and tensions, and it is compounded by the continued existence of insufficient discipline in implementation and insufficient determination and dynamism in our activities.

17. Most party members and most of the party's aktiv are in favor of a renewal of the socialist state and the economy. However, in practice this is frequently accompanied by a failure to understand the essence of the new phenomena, a reluctance to assume new responsibilities, and a fear of losing influence and identity under new conditions. This has led to the continued mistrust of society and of phenomena such as self-management, new forms of property ownership, more openness in cadre policy, coalition government, and the search for compromise in the process of achieving national accord. In addition, the way in which some echelons and cells of the apparatus operate has not resulted in support for proreform efforts and attitudes. Objectively, this has had the effect of checking the renewal process. It affects the image of the entire party, and it weakens the party's internal, ideological, and political ties. Today, part of society considers the party a conservative force. This should not offend us, and in reply we should list the services that we have performed today and in the past.

18. We are open about this. What should be changed and reorganized within the party and outside it and how should this be done so that we achieve a breakthrough? Finding an answer to this question is the task of the 10th plenum, of the individual talks that will be held with all party members, the upcoming report campaign, and the National Conference of 10th Congress Delegates. This calls for looking at the roots, the foundations of the phenomena and processes that are occurring.

Eliminating the Remnants of Stalinism

19. The foundations of the program of reforms at the beginning of the 1980's lay in the eagerness of party members for change in the system of management and government that was voiced during the debate that preceded the eighth congress, the reform undertakings and debate that preceded the ninth congress, and the diagnoses of the sources and character of the crisis that were made at the time. The results were then exhaustively treated in a report that was prepared by a PZPR Central Committee Commission that was established for the purpose of explaining the causes of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland and the way in which they occurred.

20. With time, it became increasingly clear that this initial diagnosis and the program to which it gave rise had to be deepened. The crisis turned out to be more extensive than could at first be imagined. Its roots were much deeper and lay in the principles underlying the way in which socialism was being built at that time. These roots lay in the remnants of the system of government and the organization of social and economic life, commonly known as Stalinism, that developed in Poland at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's.

21. There were two aspects to Stalinism, which was developed in the Soviet Union and subsequently introduced in the people's democracies. First, Stalinism represents a departure from the ethical principles underlying socialism, the criminal abuse of power, the drastic curtailment of democracy and civil rights and freedoms, the violation of observance of the law, and various forms of repressive action. Second, a deeper and more lasting aspect of Stalinism is the inequality in relations between socialist states and workers parties. It involves a deviant, excessive growth in centralism and the omnipotence of the state apparatus. The theory and practice of the construction of socialism, which center on democracy, social justice, and respect for man and his dignity and rights, are in essence a denial of Stalinism's fundamental ideological values.

22. In the history of Poland, the years 1948-56 were a period of great social movement, especially for the younger generation. It was a time of rapid industrialization and urbanization, and the unprecedented social advancement of millions of people. Unfortunately, the deviations that occurred—deviations that run counter to the essence of the system—cast a shadow over our country's social and cultural achievements.

23. However, the deviations that occurred in Poland were not on the same scale as those that occurred in other countries and are now being brought to light. The PZPR was also the first to deal with these deviations, and did so to the greatest extent.

24. After 1956, Poland rejected the Stalinist system. The injustices that were inflicted on members of the Communist Party of Poland, the Polish Workers Party, the Polish Socialist Party, officers of the Polish People's Armed Forces, and other individuals who were innocent and suffered were put right, although this was not always done in a sufficiently clear and consistent manner. Thus,

we must provide the full amount of political and moral justice that is due. We must finish off this episode in an objective and honest manner.

However, many remnants of the centralist-bureaucratic system have continued to exist in the functioning of the state, the economy, the party, and every aspect of social life. The relics of this system remained in people's minds for a long time, affecting party members as well, and were a source of dogmatic and conservative attitudes.

It has been possible to surmount many of these remnants in recent years through the process of socialist renewal. However, it is necessary to be consistent and to eliminate them once and for all. In addition, it is necessary to provide a suitably deep and comprehensive explanation of the truth about the nature of Stalinist distortions, which is something that constitutes an exceptionally important part of the changes that will help to create a new form of socialism. We are not alone in our efforts to achieve this. In particular, this is part of the revolutionary restructuring that is taking place in the Soviet Union.

25. We must thoroughly eliminate the remnants of these tendencies in the functioning of the party and create a modern model of the party, whose foundation will be the Leninist concept of the party as an organizer of the masses and a collective intellectual.

The road leading to this involves:
—the primacy of the party's function as a political and social movement and of political methods in providing leadership with respect to the functions of government and administration,
—the development of initiative and independent action and thought on the part of party members and cells, and the elimination of instances of excessive centralism with respect to internal party democracy;
—bringing ideological and political ties into harmony with organizational ties;
—the development of a conscious feeling of discipline that stems from ideological and political choice while, at the same time, maintaining the requirements of organizational discipline;
—a rich intellectual life, a constant increase in the individual level of activity of party people, and the elimination of anonymity and drabness;
—the development of mechanisms that will permit lively debate and the expression of diverse tendencies and concepts within the party;
—the creation of a rich variety of forms and types of party work.

The 40th Anniversary of the Formation of the PZPR

26. The 40th anniversary of the unification of the workers movement and the formation of the PZPR is a period during which remains a live tradition which encounters the requirements of the present and the future of Poland and the party.

27. The formation of the PZPR was the outcome of efforts to unify the workers class and to provide a fuller guarantee of its social leadership. It stemmed from experiences of the Polish workers movement going back many years. It was something that the people and the workers class needed objectively. However, the process whereby unification took place ran counter to the requirements of the creation of socialism under Polish conditions. This applies to the artificial way in which the rate at which it took place was speeded up and the manner in which it was forced through, that is—in a sectarian atmosphere and under external pressure. Its ideological and program platform impoverished the heritage of political thought of the Polish workers movement.

The emergent party broke with a whole series of program objectives of the Polish Socialist Party and a large part of the original, democratic achievements of the Polish Workers Party, including the concept of broad national accord in the creation of institutional changes. Many activists of both these parties suffered injustices, because of the false slogans of the struggle against right-wing nationalist deviationism and against class opportunism. Much severe damage accumulated. The creative search for our own, Polish road to socialism was stifled and, as a result, completely broken off.

28. Today, we say clearly and emphatically: The PZPR is the heir of the legacy comprising the totality of the progressive tendencies in the workers class movement. It values and views with pride—although it does so in a businesslike and critical fashion—the living achievements of its two immediate predecessors, irrespective of whether socialist or communist traditions are involved.

We are uncovering the entirety of the Polish Workers Party's political thought under new conditions. While performing what is a kind of act of historical justice, we are drawing out the entire richness of the achievements of the Polish Socialist Party.

29. Today, we are paying homage and turning to the experiences of the entire Polish left, including those tendencies that fought for the ideals of social progress not only within the workers community, but also within the peasant and intelligentsia communities. What we need for national education is a clear and concise history of the Polish workers movement, especially of its last 40 years, that is free from omissions and falsehoods. We call on party historians and journalists, and the Academy of Social Sciences to speed up work in this area.

The National and Workers Character of the PZPR

30. The socialism that has grown up on Polish soil has national roots. While accepting its historical legacy, the PZPR is now leading the creation of socialism under entirely new conditions. It bears responsibility before the nation, and sees its highest duty in serving the nation's interests and increasing progress.

This means that nothing that affects Poland is alien to the party: concern about Poland's position in the community of socialist states, in Europe, and the rest of the world; the defense of national interests, sovereignty, and the permanence of alliances within the framework of the Yalta-Potsdam territorial and political order on our continent; the desire to improve and increase the efficiency of CEMA activity; the fate of Polish communities in the West and in the East, communities overseas and close to our neighbors' borders; the fate of Poland's cultural heritage outside the fatherland; and "blank spots" in our own history and that of the nation, and in the history of our relations with other states and peoples.

31. We feel that we are the critical heirs to the past of the Polish people and the Polish state. This past contains many trends and tendencies: There are pages that contain glory and victory, but also the bitterness of defeat and failure. There are various classes and strata, and various concepts of the national interest. There were the propertied classes, who were unable to solve the most pressing social problems at decisive moments in national history and were thus unable to preserve independence. We do not choose the past, it cannot be classified and filed away. We turn to history to learn and to seek warnings, so that we can choose the best paths of national development for today and for the future.

32. The realization of the ideals of social justice—the dignity of man, equality of opportunity, equality with respect to standards, democracy, and civil rights and freedoms—is the main determinant of party policy and the party's decisions and actions.

33. The role of the workers' class in creating a new system has grown in recent years and, in a social sense, has assumed more value. It has acquired and is exploiting opportunities to propagate its order of values and has worked out new forms of effectively exercising an influence on reality. This has come about because of its most highly qualified and dynamic groups, groups that have highly developed aspirations and a high level of self-awareness. To assist the critical, rectifying function of the workers class—a function which is to prompt reform-oriented changes—the party is to create and strengthen institutional mechanisms that provide a means of expression, so that this role can express itself in political institutions, within the framework of the law, and on a stable and constructive basis. We will support the efforts of the workers class to cultivate a form of political culture in society that is based on a conscious sense of discipline and a strong sense of joint responsibility.

34. In introducing reforms and opting for structural changes, the party is guided by the long-term interests of the workers class and the concomitant principles of distribution according to the amount of work one contributes, equality of opportunity, ensuring that production is well-organized and productive, operating an effective state social policy, and satisfying the political and cultural aspirations of the workers class. The party will also take action against neglect of an employee arising from administrative sluggishness in supervision, irresponsibility on the part of production organizers, and speculative preying on economic shortcomings. It will take measures against everything that disrupts the normal rhythm of work and life and undermines confidence in the value of one's own efforts.

We have to affirm and demonstrate this at every turn. This is the only way in which the party will be viewed as a force that is capable of leading the workers class across the threshold of restructuring and higher economic efficiency, while ensuring that social costs are kept as low as possible.

35. The workers class is heterogeneous like other classes and the whole society. There are profound changes taking place in it. Detecting these changes and analyzing them is the ongoing responsibility of the social sciences and the party's intellectual infrastructure.

We will direct these issues, which are of great practical and doctrinal importance—issues that are being discussed and are prompting questions and doubts—to the Third Nationwide Theoretical and Ideological Conference.

36. During the discussions on the party and its condition and identity that are being held in some communities, it is sometimes said that having several workers' parties is the most effective guarantee of attaining the goals of the world of labor.

The model of the workers movement under socialism has not assumed its final form. On the contrary, it should be characterized by openness to exploration concerning the activities of the party, the trade union movement, self-management bodies, and associations. The model that envisaged the unilateral and essentially directive-like transmission of the will of the party leadership to the system of organization with the participation of the workers class is a thing of the past.

However, there are many important arguments against the concept of multiple workers parties. The experience of the Polish workers class shows that, at this stage in the development of socialism, political division leads not just to variety, but to rivalry that is harmful to the interests of the world of labor. The workers class has, above all, common, unifying goals.

37. The surest political guarantee of realizing the workers' interests is provided by a modern, united party that represents the Polish workers class and working people.

More effective ways of resolving conflicts and taking account of the diverse aspirations of individual sections of the workers class without causing permanent damage to its unity can and should be found. This is because in present-day Poland there are no clear political arguments for an organizational division that would create two workers parties. The existence of two parties would only serve to increase rivalry about issues of secondary importance and promote social demagogy and a struggle based on slogans that would be damaging to efforts to solve the most important problems.

The PZPR as the Party of Working People

38. Without ceasing to be a workers' party in the sense in which it has been described here, the PZPR is becoming—along with changes in all of society—a party of the working people that fights for their dignity and the creation and maintenance of institutional conditions that provide for free, well-organized, efficient and effective work. The PZPR's social base is the entire world of labor, in which the workers class occupies a special and leading place.

The party will concentrate the best and most active representatives of creative action around leading groups of the workers class and will do so in conjunction with these groups. These representatives will include inhabitants of the countryside and, in particular, efficient farmers from all sectors.

39. The position and function of the party in the countryside is defined by the principles of the worker-peasant alliance and our party's coalition with the ZSL.

The party is present in all communities in the Polish countryside. Its political presence primarily manifests itself in involvement in the work of regional, cooperative, and employee self-management bodies. A matter of first-rank importance for the position of the party in the countryside is the participation of party members and cells in solving the most important problems experienced by the rural community. These problems not only concern production, but also the great disparities that continue to exist between town and country with respect to living conditions.

The countryside can be a place for effective, well-organized work and an easier, more comfortable way of life, especially where party members in conjunction with members of the ZSL can stimulate and organize initiatives on the part of rural inhabitants. Only in this kind of modern, enterprising rural community can cooperation between the party and the peasant movement produce the beneficial results needed by all farmers.

40. The creative forces represented by the intelligentsia have a special role to play in reforming the state, the economy, and the party, and creating a new type of socialism. This calls for a new way of viewing the intelligentsia's social position, as well as a different attitude toward its aspirations, needs, and ambitions. Declarations about the role of creative communities in the development of the country must be reflected in their living and working conditions.

The reforms create conditions for restoring the social prestige and national mission of the intelligentsia. New principles and forms of management provide an opportunity for reversing the decline in the material circumstances of the intelligentsia and create possibilities—with the active participation of its representatives—for finding ways to improve life for all sections of the intelligentsia. In particular, this calls for the rapid creation of wage systems that encourage initiative on the part of the intelligentsia and permit full use to be made of the country's intellectual potential.

The party must assist in the creation of and resolutely support the increasing number of innovative initiatives that are appearing in artistic and technical intelligentsia communities. This attests to a significant increase in thought and activity. The great value of these initiatives lies in respect for the country, man, and society.

Nothing separates the party from the intelligentsia as much as schematism in thinking and action; the sanctioning of theoretical and intellectual "taboos"; low standards within the party, and obscuring the differences that exist with respect to people's attitudes and expectations. Nothing links the party with the world of human intellect as strongly as intellectual boldness, humanistic openness, and objective tolerance.

Marxism-Leninism: The Party's Ideological and Theoretical Compass

41. In our historic work of creating a just social system, we are guided by the theoretical and ideological compass of Marxism-Leninism. We invariably find that it provides effective ways of evaluating the current state of reality and future development trends as well as the means to consciously change reality. It remains a coherent system of values that has inspired the workers and socialist movement since its very beginnings and a scientific justification for the ways and means that are needed to gradually realize these values, so that they do not remain just unfulfilled dreams. Marxism is, above all, the dialectics and analysis of social reality in terms of great class and group structures, conflicts between their interests and aspirations, and the uncovering and overcoming of contradictions.

We often hear it said: "It is a pity that there is no new Lenin. He would tell us what we should do and how we should do it." However, others maintain that all that remains of the great scholars are "portraits and books written in the 19th century."

Fortunately, portraits and books lining shelves are not all that remains. What remains, above all, are vital ideas that continue to be attractive.

42. We approach Marxism objectively and critically, and compare its theses with the results produced by the scientific study of reality. We consider it necessary to

constantly verify these theses, to reassess current principles and doctrines, and to find answers to the questions and challenges posed by the present in Marxist methodology and not in strictly literal interpretations. The intellectual foundations of the creation of socialism must be constantly enriched with new elements drawn from mankind's cultural achievements.

43. Marxist theorists have now become more active and are less helpless in the face of the complex set of problems posed by current changes in socialism. This serves to bring theory closer to the most vital needs connected with society's development and have the effect of paving the way to answers that pre-empt practice.

Marxism as it is evolving under Polish conditions is affirming its usefulness in explaining the processes that are taking place in our country and is becoming increasingly rich and diverse. "Schools" and different currents of thought are beginning to appear. This provides Marxism with a great intellectual opportunity.

44. Our Polish searches are only part of the common efforts and reappraisals that are taking place in communist and workers parties in the East and the West and in the entire socialist world. We believe that what is needed at the present time is a broader international forum for discussion and thought about the socialism of the future and about socialism and Marxism in the 21st century.

The Party and Religion

45. An issue that continues to be raised in internal party debates about the party's identity and gives rise to much emotion is the party's ideological character. A broad range of views exists on this issue, which was the subject of heated debate before and during the ninth congress and later during work on the "PZPR Program."

We did not and will not bury our heads in the sand with respect to religious issues. That believers form a definite majority in our society and that they are very much present in the party is an objective fact.

Part of our community believes that party members should subscribe to a materialist world outlook, of which atheism is a key element. They think that a different attitude toward atheism would mark the end of the PZPR's Marxist character. They also say that our party does not have to be and should not be an organization that actively champions atheism and engages in militant atheism. They believe that the party should be characterized by tolerance, but that it has a duty to propagate a materialist world outlook based on scholarly attitudes.

However, others think that the party should reassess its attitude toward religion and radically reduce or even completely eliminate ideological requirements.

It is also being suggested that in view of the fact that the PZPR's leading role is enshrined in the Constitution, the PZPR's position should be one of complete ideological neutrality. This would eliminate the conflict of conscience experienced by many believers who are party members.

46. Socialism in our country is a secular order. In creating and supporting socialism, people draw inspiration from various ideologies.

47. At the sixth plenum we said that "the Polish state is a secular state, but not an anti-religious one." Today, we are developing this thesis and giving it concrete form. There is nothing about socialism as a social order that makes it intrinsically incompatible with religion and religious feeling. The creation of an atheistic society is not one of socialism's goals. Socialism does not represent a choice between religion and atheism.

Neither "liberating" people from religious beliefs or affirming these beliefs is the goal or, even more so, the task of the party, and it is not something that stems from its essence as an ideological force.

48. Above all, the party is a secular, political force. It highly values the arguments of reason and learning, tolerance, humanism, and freedom of conscience. The party's world outlook is scientific, rational, and materialist and being such, it does not cover issues that extend beyond the scope of science, issues such as the existence or nonexistence of God.

49. It is not religion that opposes socialism, but political clericalism and anti-state activity that is conducted under the cover of religious symbols. Some representatives of the clergy oppose the state—and they do not in any sense do so because of the state's attitude toward religion—and they engage in religious activity that does not aid accord. This provides a basis for action that constitutes de facto violations of the law and the social order. There are cases of aggression and rowdiness, especially when the actions and initiatives of the extremist political opposition are stepped up. It is also true that not all atheists are allies of socialism. Political divisions cut across ideological differences. Indeed, our attitude toward this issue is determined not by ideological, but by political reasons.

50. What is really important for the party is the political orientation of religious and church organizations. The PZPR appreciates the Christian concept of the value of social life and labor and perceives many similarities between the universal values of religious ethics and social teachings, on the one hand, and socialism's humanist values, on the other hand. Many elements of Marxist thought have been adopted by the church and have entered its present-day social teachings. Many of its values, particularly those in the sphere of philosophy, labor ethics, and morality, are close to our ideological

thought. This creates a solid, lasting, and forward-looking attitude of unity and cooperation between all progressive, reform-oriented, and pro-socialist forces.

51. The necessary conditions for the existence of religion exist in every society in today's world. It will undoubtedly remain a lasting component of Polish national life for the foreseeable future. The renewal and creation of a new form of socialism in Poland is and will remain unthinkable without the mass involvement of believers.

52. An advantageous bilateral dialogue is developing between the socialist state and the Roman Catholic Church, and all other churches and religious denominations. The state is striving to bring about stability and normality in these relations. This is reflected in the advanced state of work on new legal regulations and formalities. The joint commission made up of members of the government and the episcopate has prepared a draft convention between the PPR and the Holy See. Work on a draft law governing the state's position with respect to the Roman Catholic Church is being continued. A draft law providing guarantees for the exercise of the freedoms of conscience and religion is being drawn up. It will affirm the existence of equal conditions for the functioning of all churches and religious denominations in Poland. The party expresses its resolute desire to bring about the rapid, successful completion of this work.

53. The debate on the subject of this set of issues will be continued. We expect the Third Nationwide Theoretical and Ideological Conference to provide deeper theoretical insights and new sources of inspiration in this area as well.

The New Form of Socialism

54. Today it is sometimes said that socialism as a system is experiencing a crisis, that the predictions based on the theory of historical materialism about socialism being the future of mankind have proved to be a fiasco. This is not true. However, what we are encountering are the symptoms of a crisis, and these stem from the fact that the opportunities present in the first, initial stage of socialism have been exhausted. The pioneering stage was characterized by the burden of the legacy of backwardness, a low level of economic development, and the enormous amount of damage caused by war that was suffered by the societies which embarked upon the path of socialist change and by the effects of far-reaching deviations that have nothing in common with the system's essence.

55. We need a faster, more tangible elaboration of the theory and ideology of socialist renewal. However, we will not attain this without the renewal of theory and ideology itself. This means that we have to break with schematism, question ineffective, but ingrained habits, call into question everything that has not proved itself in practice, and rethink the place of socialism in the development of human civilization, the form of socialism that is required today, and the ways and means leading to this, so that we can provide ourselves and others with an answer to the question of "what kind of socialism?" with new vigor.

The path leading to this is not one of abstract reflection, but one of moving closer to the real problems and difficulties that exist in society. Our program is something that comes into being within the entire party as a generalized form of all the party's experiences in accordance with the cardinal Marxist thesis that the only right type of theory is one that proves itself in practice. Every new idea and proposal that grows out of experience must be discussed by the party without the question of whether it enriches or impoverishes our ideology being decided in advance.

56. The increasingly widespread reassessments of the real structure of socialism that are being made today relates—from our Polish perspective—to the establishment of socioeconomic, political and psychological, and domestic and internal conditions, so that questions concerning the forms, methods, and rate of national development can be posed in a new, more radical way.

57. All this gives rise to extensive debate within the party. There are various conflicting views and opinions. As a rule, what lies behind them is an appeal for signposts, for unambiguous directions.

Ideological frustration, indecision, doubts—these are perfectly understandable during a period of profound political and socioeconomic change, and the critical verification of many institutional forms—give rise to a lively ferment and also serve as a point of departure for constructive searches and reassessments. They encourage growing acceptance of a new type of prosocialist involvement and the surmounting of cynical and critical attitudes.

58. It is not the system of values or our goals that give rise to doubts and fears, and question and indecision, but the ways and means by which they are realized, the intermediate stages, the tactics that are used—and tactics are governed by laws that are different from those that govern strategy.

59. What gives rise to the greatest number of questions today? What divides the party with respect to opinions and assessments? What is the source of the greatest amount of concern?

In the case of economics, this applies to some of the effects of the development of a market economy and private enterprise and, in particular, to such phenomena as the stratification of society, the expansion of an alternative, black economy, the emergence of a drive to acquire wealth, a decline in the position of the national currency, and the existence of pathological phenomena (greed, corruption, the evasion of laws).

In the case of political relations, what gives rise to concern is the question of whether we are not "giving up positions" that we have held until now, that is, the question of changes in the role and functions of the party, as well as in the practice of the alliance coalition with the ZSL and SD. There is a fear that the development of trade union pluralism will push us toward the unforgettable dangers of 7 years ago. There is also a lack of certainty about whether the direction in which new forms of political activity by political associations and clubs are evolving will fall within the framework of constructive, constitutional opposition.

In the case of culture and ideology, there are fears that the patriotic motivation felt by part of the younger generation will be eroded. The expansion of value systems and ideologies that are alien or hostile to Marxism is seen as being dangerous. There are fears that material goods and the race to acquire them will become the highest value, and fears that the ideology of the left will become less attractive in society.

60. Some party people, especially members of the older generation talk about the "selling out" of the ideas and achievements of the system. We hear people say that the "party is being divested" of its ideological principles and of its due governing functions, with which it has, so to speak, "been endowed."

On the other hand, some party members have complaints about the party and its leadership not being the "driving force behind change." They complain that it is not keeping pace with social realities, that it is wasting time, that is floundering in the sluggish conservatism of its structures and methods of operation. They point to the fact that the party is not considered an agent of progress and social and occupational advancement by the younger generation.

We are not ignoring these views. We are taking careful and serious notice of them. We are drawing conclusions from them—suggestions to be implemented now and suggestions for the future.

61. Socialism is not a final state of affairs. It is a stage in the development of human civilization leading to freedom through fostering a greater sense of community in people's lives and asserting human qualities. Its structure should be subordinated to a set of supreme values and not to principles for the organization of the state, the economy, and public life that are formulated in advance and once and for all.

62. There are and can be many paths leading to socialism. However, what is important at all times is that people feel happy under socialism—economically, politically, and spiritually. People should feel that they creatively develop their personality and exploit their creative powers thanks to socialism. That is our current understanding of the Marxist-Leninist idea of socialism as a "movement" and "creative force of the masses."

63. What some people rashly call a "reversal" and a "retreat" is nothing more than a fresh approach to the analysis of new phenomena present in reality and a paving of the way for the creation of a new form of socialism in a more effective manner. It means creatively reinterpreting current experience and drawing conclusions from new challenges. It means giving concrete form to the Polish road to socialism today.

64. To express this in the broadest possible terms, it is a question of a modern, democratic, pluralist socialism, a socialism that is rational socially and combines economic productivity and efficiency with humanist values. It is a question of socialism that strengthens its foundations while instituting reform-oriented changes, a socialism that can satisfy national ambitions, a socialism that stands for progress and a better life, a system that is worthy of the name socialism at the end of the 20th century.

65. In the process of creating this type of socialism, the party is guided by fixed pointers for courses of activity:
—Humanism, a socialist emphasis on the individual person—seeing man as part of a community and a unique individual that is striving to achieve self-realization in harmony with others. All aspects of socialism must have a clearly human, and not an impersonal face. This means that we have to break with anonymity, with the remnants of a one-sided cult of collectivism and viewing the individual as an object, for which socialism is being created as if it were some gift that cannot be refused. Recognition of the fact that society's energy stems from the energy of individuals, without a reduction in the role and importance of whole social classes and groups in the development process: individuals being seen as sovereign, making decisions for themselves, and independent in the choices that they make about the course of their lives, and, at the same time, conscious of their ties with the national and the state communities.
—Work viewed as the main element in individual self-realization and the basic source of man's existence.
—Social justice understood as equality with respect to opportunities, positions, and standards, the most important yardstick being the quantity and quality of work.
—Democracy, the sovereignty of the man, and the elimination of the feeling that the individual is in some sense alienated from influence on social and political life.
—Ensuring that social ownership of the means of production is the basic way in which man exercises control over the work process and in which the economy is subordinated to social needs under conditions of healthy economic competition.
—A new understanding of human and civil rights. Until now, the social and economic aspect of these rights has been the predominant theme on our banners and in social practice. It was the essence of the revolutionary advancement of the working masses and a consequence of the level to which productive forces had developed at the time. The task facing us with particular clarity at the present time is the development of the political, spiritual, and individual

aspects of rights and freedoms. Recent times have seen new, practical, and often pioneering achievements leading in this direction in the form of new institutions and guarantees.
—Patriotism that manifests itself in the form of conscientious work and a feeling of joint responsibility for the Polish state and the local community and for one's personal contribution to the community's development.
—Internationalism in the sense of a bond of solidarity with progressive social forces and with peoples that have chosen the socialist path of development.
—A broad opening up of the amount of room for diverse human affairs and activities in the economy, politics, science, and culture. Related to this is a broad opening up to the cultural achievements of mankind as a whole and to the experiences of other societies.

66. The sociopolitical guarantees for the realization of these values are contained in the leading role of the workers class that is being fulfilled in alliance with the peasants and the intelligentsia, as well as in the leading role of the workers class' party.

67. We do not interpret these values and principles in a hard and fast way. As changes occur in the conditions of economic life, experience is accumulated, science progresses, and social aspirations develop, these values and principles must be interpreted anew and enriched in keeping with the spirit of the times, which also applies to the ways and means used to realize them.

68. The fundamental criterion for gauging the development and maturity of socialism is the ability to satisfy the needs and expectations of working people and to create increasingly better conditions of life in line with social aspirations. A broader aspect is the ability to guarantee our national community an appropriate place in Europe and the world.

The next few years should see tangible progress in this direction. We will create every possible condition for this to happen.

The extensive reform of the system of government and administration and the far-reaching reorganization of production relations are designed to serve this very goal.

69. The consolidation of the national economy entails a fundamental change in the philosophy of managing the economy, a shift toward: the promotion of economic activity, production, and efficiency in all sectors, irrespective of the form of ownership; the development of an efficient market; a broader opening up of the economy to "the world."

70. A basic condition for restoring public confidence in our system is the elimination of shortcomings—to put it briefly, the elimination of the annoyance caused by lines and other difficulties experienced in everyday life, the expansion of services, and the provision of more shelves in our shops and more on our plates.

Today the economic sphere and its influence on people's everyday lives represents the most important front in the struggle for socialism.

People who do not understand this, who reject state economic policy—the thrust of which is to set in motion and exploit all the mainsprings of higher output—are placing dogmas above the vital needs of society.

Toward the 11th Congress

71. The meetings of the Central Committee that followed the 10th congress, and the sixth, seventh, and eighth plenums in particular, gave the recent experience general validity and gave concrete form to some program provisions. However, the basic goals and values contained in the "PZPR Program" remain a constant ideological signpost for the entire party. The definite majority of the assessments and tasks concerning directions contained in it retain their full relevance.

72. The next, 11th party congress will comprehensively sum up what will follow them, formulate appraisals and suggestions, and give concrete form to a program and tasks for the coming years. This will certainly express itself in the rewriting of some parts of the "PZPR Program" and in amendments to some provisions of the statute.

The Politburo proposes setting up a working party that will analyze experience and the introduction of new solutions in the party's methods of operation, structures, and internal system and workings on an ongoing basis and will formulate appropriate draft amendments to the "PZPR Statute," submitting them for general party discussion before the 11th congress.

II. The Party and Change

The Party and the Organs of State Power

73. The outline of a new model of a democratic socialist state in which the rule of law is paramount and which satisfies people's aspirations for a sense of civic joint responsibility is gradually emerging from current changes, discussions, and debates. In creating it, we are making use of the tried and tested achievements of socialist thought and of the progressive thought of all mankind. The character of this model is and will remain an open issue that depends on the will of the highest sovereign force, that is, working people and society.

The desire for a system of strong and effective political and executive authority is an expression of this will. This authority has to enjoy the necessary public support and display consistency in implementing modern socioeconomic solutions and enforcing the law, which applies to everybody.

74. Democracy is an integral part of socialism's political system and of a truly social system of ownership. Only a democratic state in which the rule of law is paramount

can guarantee its citizens that the values which are espoused will be realized and can create long-lasting and attractive prospects for young people.

Socialist democracy is not just a collection of possibilities and expressions of assent, but also a form of independence, joint decisionmaking, and joint responsibility. This is because all forms of political and social activity entail responsibility for the results that they produce. This is the supreme principle of all democracy.

75. Changes in the political system are leading to the formation of a socialist parliamentary democracy that suits the system's goals, but also satisfies national aspirations. For the first time in history, we have a genuine opportunity to create a model of democracy that will ultimately surmount bad national experiences.

The central element of socialist parliamentary democracy is a strong and politically representative parliament, which is the nation's highest form of political representation and not that of individual social groups and strata, occupations, regions. This calls for the consolidation of what has been achieved so far, as well as the development of the functions of the Sejm as a real center of state power. The composition of the Sejm should fully reflect the coalition system, pluralist socialist structures, as well as the citizens' electoral preferences.

Socialist parliamentary democracy means rich mechanisms for discussion and the articulation of different opinions and concepts, and for cooperation between the PZPR and other parties, and greater scope for activity on the part of various organizations and groupings. It means a clear tripartite division of power into the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. It means a new, democratic form of conduct in exercising state power based on the principles of coalition, pluralism, openness toward diverse social interests and aspirations, joint responsibility for the condition of Polish statehood, and the search for accord and compromise.

76. The party is part of the system of socialist democracy. We are subject to the same rules as the other forces that participate in government.

77. The "PZPR Program" states: "The party's leading role in the state will be implemented in accordance with the principles of people's power and the norms of law without it being a substitute for or replacing state organs, and with the status and powers of these organs being respected."

Today we say openly: The party is an ideological and political force, and not one that governs and administers. It is not an office that stands above other offices, a government that stands above the government, a parliament that stands above the parliament. It means striving to completely abandon the burdensome and ineffective substitution or duplication of the organs of state power. We have achieved a great deal in this direction in recent years and months.

The transition to ways of exercising a leading role that are appropriate to today's needs is not a concession that has been forced on us, but a way of responding to the laws of socialist development.

78. So, what is the philosophy behind the new form of political leadership? Representatives of the party, guided by their program, together with their allies in representative bodies, are working on directions and programs for state activity. Only after they have assumed the form of a decision made by the legislature are they binding on the executive. The executive is responsible for the implementation of decisions before the Sejm and people's councils and, within the framework of these institutions, before the party as well. This means that there is a fundamental need to raise the status of the PZPR Deputies Club and the units that group together party members in representative organs, self-management bodies, and social organizations.

The imperfections in current solutions exist in, among other things, the mechanisms according to which the party operates. In its current form, the organization of the party's echelons is still, in part, a duplication of the system of government and state administration. As a result, party structures are directly involved in accomplishing state tasks.

79. It is our political duty to see to it that people's councils perform the truly institutional role that we have been according them in political programs and doctrinal reflections for years. We see the system of councils as being a cornerstone of people's power, the fundamental institution of Polish democracy, a natural forum for the articulation of conflicts concerning regional interests and finding ways of balancing these interests, and satisfying them to the maximum possible extent. It is the party's duty to strive to effect the real and not just the avowed supremacy of people's councils with respect to the administration, and to respond resolutely to every curtailment of this supremacy. The PZPR Council Members Group and the activity of party people is the main way in which a party echelon can influence the work of a people's council.

The amended law on the system of people's councils and regional self-government will come into force in the New Year. All PZPR echelons should consider the implementation of the letter and spirit of this law to be their basic political duty and ensure that it is provided with an infrastructure made up of the essential legal, organizational, and financial instruments, as well as with new political codes of behavior.

80. The Politburo deems it necessary to institute a clear and, above all, effective division between political and executive power, to separate the functions of the party from those of state organs within the system of government, and to assert the principle of personal responsibility for the effects of political and economic decisions.

It is worth considering the concrete suggestions that are being made on ways of preventing instances of dual power. It is being proposed that heads of administrative bodies at all levels should only also be members of the executive organs of party committees when this is essential. The decisive elements in this respect must be individual qualities, a readiness to accept party criticism, and openness to party dialogue and frank discussion about the faults and weaknesses of the administration.

Of course, this is an indication of a wider problem. Basically, it has become necessary to clearly define, and then observe, the separate rights of other political institutions. Within the party apparatus itself, it has become urgent to clearly divide the functions of party institutions according to three principles—a demarcation of responsibilities, a uniform right to make decisions, and far-reaching decentralization.

81. The Politburo is in favor of a clearer definition of the problems and issues it ought to examine, and of a new and more rational definition of the rules that govern mutual relations between the Politburo, government, and PZPR Deputies Club.

82. Preliminary work on a new PPR Constitution is continuing. The Politburo believes that it should set out the rules for joint activity between the PZPR and allied parties, create a broad framework for the coalitional method of government, and provide a strong democratic basis for the electoral law. Furthermore, the Constitution should define the rules and principles of functioning applicable to social organizations that support our political principles and wish to exert influence on the exercising of authority.

83. The new political leadership also involves a cadres policy that matches today's needs. Just like any ruling party in the East and in the West, the PZPR will not diminish its influence on cadre processes. However, it will exert this influence in a way that conforms to society's expectations.

The past 6 months have seen major progress in this regard. In pursuance of the decisions of the seventh plenum, the Politburo has changed the method of selecting cadres by party committees and organizations. The burden has been shifted away from administration over cadres, to mechanisms of assessing their performance. The number of leadership posts requiring party approval has been reduced by 75 percent. There is work on a program involving rapid advancement for talented people. An interministerial team has been appointed, charged with seeking out and promoting talented college graduates. The purpose of this is to give above-average people rapid possibilities for promotion and render them assistance in gaining a high professional standard.

Rules that hampered the promotion of talented young workers are being eliminated. The socialist youth unions should display greater militancy in overcoming these barriers. One must not let genuine talents become enmeshed in a quagmire of rules and bureaucratic obstacles. One of the next sessions of the Council of Ministers will deal with the advancement of young cadres.

Regardless of the theoretical principles of cadres policy, cadres selection is a constant process. The point is to select those with particular qualities. For this purpose, effective mechanisms of cadres selection will be created.

84. We are taking a new look at the place and role of the allies and signatories of PRON in cadres policy. Political consultations are in progress on the subject of amending the "Principles of PZPR, ZSL, and SD Cooperation in Implementing Cadres Policy." There is room for every constructive social force in cadre processes. Aware of the variety of requirements placed upon cadres, the party will try to create equal opportunities for people with various forms of world outlook to achieve advancement. It is qualifications, work results, and recognition that count. Real and effective cooperation between all the forces that recognize the law involves the need for joint responsibility by all partners for the selection of proper cadres.

In the selection and promotion of cadres, efficiency must take precedence over administrative and bureaucratic "recommendations" and "provisos." Only in this way will it be possible to gain leaders who really act, and not just pretend to do so, people who are closely connected to the community they come from, and who know society's feelings and expectations.

85. Democracy and openness are encouraging effective social control over and assessment the cadres' activity. The role of representative bodies, especially the people's councils, self-management bodies, and social and professional organizations is increasing in this respect. The powers of people's councils regarding cadres selection are not being used to a maximum extent, and neither are there enough periodic assessments of the work of state bodies. The opinion of local communities is not taken into consideration as much as it should be.

86. The selection of leaders out of a group of several candidates is an important part of democratization. The practice of putting up two or three candidates for the post of voivoda or voivodship party first secretary has met with society's approval. We will adhere to this practice consistently.

87. The selection of leadership cadres by means of competition is encountering increased interest and support. This method of selecting cadres must also be applied more extensively in the non-production sphere, especially in science, education, culture, and journalism.

88. It is necessary to change the work style of cadre services. They should abandon their direct, administrative participation in individual personnel decisions, and concentrate on selecting and training the best cadres and on distributing them correctly. Daily practical support for cadre services should be provided by teams of advisers and an expanded system of assessment as an objective source of information about development trends and forecasts.

89. In cadres policy, absolute priority must be accorded to political methods, instead of administrative-bureaucratic ones. Making work with people more intimate is the duty of all party members, especially those in the state apparatus, representative bodies, self-management bodies, trade unions, and social organizations.

The Politburo considers it expedient to make it compulsory for leadership cadres to belong to a primary party organization, in addition to their home organization.

91. It is necessary to avoid two extreme tendencies in the work of party organizations and cells, ministries, and offices—on the one hand, a tendency to place oneself above the leadership of a given institution or office (which used to happen in the seventies), and, on the other hand, a tendency to push PZPR bodies in these institutions onto the sidelines.

The role of party committees in central and supreme state bodies is primarily to assess their activity and see to it that it conforms to the PZPR line, and to inform their leaderships about society's reaction to the decisions taken by these leaderships.

92. The Politburo will examine and adopt a new, comprehensive concept of work between the relevant party bodies and by the Central Committee Secretariat and party members who hold leadership posts in the central state apparatus. This concept will include a system of selecting cadres, improving their qualifications, and confirming their correct allocation. A new Central Committee Secretariat resolution on the role and tasks of primary party bodies in ministries and central offices will be worked out.

The Party at the Front of the Social Leftwing

93. Poland, socialism, and the party need a broad, offensive front by the social leftwing, a front that is conscious of its goals, and consists of a leftwing that is united around the most important problems of the country's development, political shape, and alliances.

The party is faced with the task of consolidating the allied joint activity between the forces of the Polish leftwing. For this purpose, the party will take part in discussions, disputes, and practical activity with people and communities that possess socially progressive programs and views, thus enriching and consolidating its alliances. Today, many leftwingers shun the party. We understand the reasons and motives for this. We believe that the party, which is reforming itself and rediscovering its identity, will be able to win over many representatives of the social leftwing.

94. We uphold the sixth plenum's stance about enabling ideological and valuable people who have gone astray over the past 7 years to return to our fold.

95. The basis of the front of the social leftwing is and will remain the tripartite PZPR, ZSL, and SD coalition. This coalition has major political achievements behind it, which enrich democratism and the open political culture in Poland.

In the past, the potential of the socialist coalition could be used better in order to encourage the best decisions and increase responsibility for their implementation. We believe our allies were guided by a similar motive when, in their latest resolutions, they called for an expansion of the coalitional method of rule.

The party wants strong and genuine allies. Initiatives and criticism must act both ways. An alliance means confidence, keeping one's words, and joint government. But it also means joint responsibility. We want our alliance to play an increasingly valuable part in the development of pluralism and accord. This calls for respect for the ideological and political identity of all the bodies that comprise social life. The different identity of partners, differences in views, and disputes during dialogue and cooperation do not weaken the interparty coalition, but strengthen it. Together we are guaranteeing the success of the strategy of reform and renewal.

Allied joint activity should maker itself felt to a greater extent in the Sejm, people's councils, and self-management bodies. These are natural forums in which an interparty coalition in socialism functions.

The modern concept of allied cooperation also calls for more energetic joint activity in the ideological sphere, in order to make the aims of modern socialism more concrete. This does not clash with the values that each of the allied parties holds.

96. Having adopted such a concept for influencing state life, we are finally abandoning the tendency to monopolize political culture and the administration, and withdrawing the right to have the best program always and in every sphere. History has shown that holding a monopoly over national interests is nothing but an ideological form of bureaucracy, a pseudotheory that is far removed from practice. It may happen that a concept introduced

by party deputies or councillors fails to gain support and is rejected, and a concept presented by someone else is approved instead. Such a situation is the normal result of democracy, an expression of the broad, coalitional basis of socialism. This strengthens, not weakens, the system. The most important matter is to solve concrete problems effectively and with a respect for our partners and a retention of our own identity.

97. The Sejm elections should be an important stage in the expansion of the coalitional method of authority, and a qualitative step forward in shaping a new political culture.

98. We believe that elections should not only be a form of plebiscite that expresses the degree of support for the system, the authorities, and their policies. Most of all, it should be a deliberate decision on the subject of people to whom society is ready to give its confidence.

99. In the work of renewal, the party and its allies cooperate closely with associations of Catholics and lay Christians, nonparty supporters of the reform, associations and organizations of working people, and distinguished bodies, especially those that support the PRON programmatic platform and to whom the ideals and objectives of the reform are close.

100. PRON may encourage the emergence of an alliance of those who support the reform. It may expand accord, develop various forms of social dialogue, and create positive results in man's immediate surroundings. From this point of view, the PRON programmatic concepts calling for joint activity with representative and self-management bodies are important, so that social movements and other forms of activity that illustrate a desire to fulfill the needs and aspirations of citizens may be formed.

101. In the patriotic coalition of reformist forces, there is a special place for the young generation and its organizations. Influence over the young generation is an increasing source of rivalry between different political forces. The outcome of this will depend on how far the party will be able to initiate and support positive changes and present itself to young people as the driving force behind progress.

102. The effectiveness of party and state policy with respect to young people remains unsatisfactory. Progress in this area calls for the creation of mechanisms that will involve young people in the accomplishment of socioeconomic tasks connected with the country's development and for a fundamental reorganization of the nature of party work with young people. It is necessary to increase direct contacts between the party aktiv and young people from various communities, to be influenced through personal example and the individual activity of party members, and to support initiatives launched by young people themselves. In work with young people, respect should be shown for their ability to be active agents and this capacity should be strengthened. At the same time, high requirements should be set, joint responsibility should be stressed, opportunities should be indicated, and creative dissatisfaction and discontent with the current state of reality should be encouraged.

103. In a situation in which a pluralist influence is being exercised on young people, it is necessary to establish a special consensus among everybody involved in upbringing with respect to such cardinal values as: patriotism, a conscientious attitude toward work, and respect for the law and general human ethical values. The responsibility for fostering civic and patriotic attitudes rests with family, the education system, the party, youth organizations, the churches, and with everyone who works with and among young people.

104. The changes that are taking place in the economy create an enormous opportunity for young people who are energetic and enterprising and are not afraid to take risks. The party will provide support for economic initiatives and undertakings launched by young people themselves with a view to solving the problems and everyday difficulties that they encounter. The party will surmount the barriers that there are to young people being active, and it will eliminate the causes of apathy and indifference. It is essential that youth organizations display a greater degree of activity and a more offensive-like approach in activities of this kind. Initiatives launched by socialist youth associations such as the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], Young Masters of Technology and Efficient Management Competition, the Rural Youth Union Economic Forum, the Youth Skills Academy, and the economic activity of the Polish University Student Association create an opportunity for bringing together significantly more young people than was the case until now and for preparing them for participation in the country's social and economic life.

The party will help create an intellectual elite made up of young people who are the best and the most gifted and who want to excel among their contemporaries. This objective is served well by such undertakings as the "Primus Inter Pares" competitions, the "S. Wyspianski Young People's Prize," the National Children's Fund, which looks after particularly gifted children, and the "21st Century Avant-Garde Movement." Supporting such initiatives and developing the forms that they take and searching for new ones provide the primary party organization and party echelons with an opportunity to attract young people, create youth leaders, and effect a further change in the process of transition from one generation of party members to another.

105. As a result of the decisions adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress, the government drew up the "Program for Improving Initial Career and Other Opportunities for Young People." However, a significant number of the tasks contained therein have not been accomplished yet. The Law on Young People has not produced the

results that were expected. The party is in favor of the Sejm reviewing the implementation of the government program and the Law on Young People annually and imposing sanctions on those who are responsible for instances of neglect and failure to implement and enforce the provisions of these documents.

106. The socialist youth movement has an opportunity to become one of the main pro-reform forces and a creator of bold uncoventional proposals and initiatives concerning the reform of the party and the state and improving the economic and cadre mechanisms that operate in the state. The necessary, far-reaching reorganization of the style, forms, and methods of operation employed by the ZSMP, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish Scout Union, and the Polish University Student Association should serve to strengthen their political position and authenticity with respect to young people who are not organized. The party hopes that youth organizations will become very receptive to the idea of partner-like cooperation with the unofficial youth movements that are concerned about ecological problems and cultural changes, and that youth organizations will create an opportunity and a forum for satisfying the intellectual interests of young people and the needs arising from their hobbies.

The party will support youth associations in their efforts to effect changes that are in accord with the aspirations of the young generation of Poles.

The Party and Civic Society

107. The political system does not embrace the entire scope of the national community's social existence. A significant part of the community's activity expresses itself in what Marx called civic society.

The contours of this civic society are already clearly delineated. They involve, among other things, a departure from the model of a centrally organized society, from the philosophy of omnipotence on the part of the state and its organs and a shift toward sovereignty for the individual and social and local community groups. It means moving away from the practice of regimenting and directing public life in all its aspects toward a political system that creates room for self-administration and civic initiatives and responsibility while ensuring that the requirements of state and social discipline are maintained. The party supports these efforts, takes part in creating appropriate conditions and a favorable climate for them, and identifies the dynamics of social processes and the nature of the conflicts, aspirations and hopes, and moods and attitudes that arise.

108. The many-sided diversity that exists in society; its heterogeneity, can and should increasingly become an element that promotes change and aids development. The range of forms and methods of civic activity and participation in government are becoming increasingly rich. This should aid the creation of optimal decision-making processes that involve broad social participation through revealing and reconciling opposing arguments and conflicts, the conflicting interests of different social groups, and should prevent disagreements from accumulating and developing into conflict situations. This is the only way to create a system of social accords and appropriate conditions for grouping together broad sections of society around issues that will determine the future of the country.

109. It is essential to make the institutions of democracy and people's power assume a form and manner of activity that will enable every individual citizen and citizens as a whole to genuinely participate in the functioning of these institutions on an everyday basis and have a real, effective influence on the course of events in society and assume responsibility for their actions and those of others.

To put it as simply as possible, the picture that is emerging from numerous scientific analyses and opinion polls does not accord with these intentions. A significant number of our citizens do not become involved and even distance themselves from public issues. Most people feel that administrative organs play a greater role in government than social and representative organs. It is true that there are many ways of exercising influence, but how effective they are is uncertain. Some citizens still feel that they are alienated from the means of influencing life and political decisions.

Many completely new democratic institutions have been established in recent years. One would expect people to use them, but they do not. Why is this? Some people might say that this is because a tradition of participation is lacking. However, there are reasons which are more significant.

Broad consultations and various forms of advice are obvious achievements of the process of democratization and renewal. Nevertheless, this system is not efficient enough. It calls for better coordination, simplification, an observance of the scope of individual bodies, and timeliness of decisions. Existing institutions of democracy often suffer from a lack of energy and an inability to resolve important issues promptly. They are frequently weighed down by a hierarchical structure of activity, by a bureaucratic waiting for signals from above. Unfortunately, old habits are responsible for this state of affairs.

110. Self-management bodies, especially territorial ones, are a form of democracy that is peculiar to socialism, and signify a greater involvement by society in running the state. They offer the best opportunity for citizens and social groups to express their interests and satisfy their needs.

The party is in favor of greater independence for these bodies, enriching the instruments of their activity, depriving them of their bureaucratic constraints, and encouraging citizens to take part in them. Perpetuating the political and economic position of self-management bodies is important in order to develop and consolidate the idea of people's rule and guarantee the future of Polish democracy. However, not even the best party resolutions will implement the idea of self-management. This can only be done by people who realize the possibilities inherent in this form of people's rule.

111. Consultations on the associations bill are drawing to a close. Our intention is that this act, while protecting the constitutional social order and legal system, should bring the richness of people's initiatives to fruition, create broad possibilities of spontaneous human activity, and satisfy the natural need for group activity for a healthy purpose.

The formation of associations is a broad field of activity for the party. The point is to encourage as many left-wing associations as possible, in pursuance of the party line.

112. The growing role of social organizations is giving rise to questions about the party's influence on this form of social activity. An ability to win over social organizations to the goals and values of socialism is becoming an important criterion for the party's ability to exercise its leading role. The times when this process of winning over could assume any form, and even be limited to the issuing of orders from top to bottom, are over. Today we can exert an influence on these organizations by being present in them, instead of issuing orders to them; by presenting an attractive program of activity to them, instead of telling them what to do.

In social organizations, party people should establish positions for themselves by means of their own prestige, and win democratic elections by means of their own energy, and not thanks to "directives" from above.

113. In a reformed state and economy, there are going to be less and less decisions "from above." More and more of these decisions are going to be made independently and on the spot, inside enterprises and social milieus.

Party organizations and cells must concern themselves with the problems plaguing their surroundings, discover the most important needs, and recognize potential sources of danger.

This involves the duty to defend the reforms in the conflicts that will inevitably accompany the social changes. The party's activity must be subordinated to the supreme task of coordinating group interests with national interests, eliminating narrow parochialism and egoism, and abolishing bureaucratic attitudes toward worker or local communities and ingoring the needs and opinions thereof.

114. All this requires changes to the forms and methods of party work. The party leadership—at every level—should concentrate on providing people inside representative and self-management bodies with inspiration, and guaranteeing them the best conditions for activity. At the same time, the party will constantly see to it that the law defining the rules that govern the functioning of institutions is applied correctly, without any manipulation of the prerogatives therein.

115. One of the characteristics of the Polish road to socialism is the philosophy of accord, dialogue, and clash of opinions. However, there is no room here for destruction, annihilation of the foundations of national existence, intolerance, and anarchy. The point is that differences in opinion should enrich national and state life, and not weaken its fabric.

116. The logic behind the mechanism of expressing and coordinating different social views and aspirations leads us to recognize the constructive opposition as a part of our system. This recognition may and should encourage a better solution of existing differences.

Accord and dialogue may assume various forms. There is no such thing as a "general" accord that will solve all Polish problems. The structure of social accords is based on an admission of this fact.

We do not intend to artificially accelerate or hamper the search for ways for the constructive opposition to participate in Polish politics. Life itself is posing a series of questions in this regard. One of them concerns the political forms of opposition. Right now, associations and clubs seem to be the most effective form. We will lend encouragement to it.

117. We are ready to expand dialogue and seeks forms of accord and cooperation with the opposition which, though inspired by ideological sources other than our own, nevertheless respects the country's constitutional order and considers the welfare of the state to be the most important issue. For the sake of these values, accord and even cooperation are possible; at the same time the identity of each partner may be preserved, and respect accorded to each partner. In this way, it is possible to seek out tasks which serve to solve Poland's social and economic problems.

The forms assumed by the opposition, and our party attitude toward it, is not rigid. Very frequently, someone who is our constructive partner on one issue is our opponent on another issue. Yesterday's opponent may become tomorrow's ally. If they want to master the art of politics, party people must also master the art of dialogue, negotiations, and compromise, and at the same time defend basic political interests.

118. The chance has arisen to create new institutions of dialogue and accord, including a council for national accord.

Whether or not this chance will be taken depends on political common sense, a feeling of reality, and a desire for compromise on the part of the forces that make up the Polish political scene. Social and political pluralism will only become a reviving force when the desire for accord is accompanied by mature conditions for the implementation of it. Otherwise, accord may turn into a destructive force. Freedom also means responsibility, common sense, and an ability to foresee the effects of decisions.

119. We expect the constructive opposition to adopt a clear stance vis-a-vis the party's programmatic thinking and concrete decisions. The very fact of "being" in the opposition will not bring socially desirable solutions any nearer, will not implement the reforms, and will not make the process of changes effective. The best ways of reaching decisions and implementing them have to be sought together.

Members of the constructive opposition should dissociate themselves from extremist political forces that conduct activity against the very essence of the system and the Polish raison d'etat; activity aimed at destabilization, ruining the chances for a successful "roundtable" and a broader authentic social accord.

120. In the political struggle, we are and will continue to be faced with various opponents, including those who, even though they pay lip service to accord and cooperation, question the political-legal order, aim toward a disintegration of the state, take advantage of foreign support, and do not hesitate to put social calm and the national welfare in jeopardy. We will wage a firm struggle against them, using political resources.

Such a struggle is essential today. Basically, it is a struggle for accord, which in turn is for the sake of socialist renewal and a new shape of socialism for the benefit of Poland. At the same time, essential resources must be applied in order to defend law and order.

121. The chief burden of the struggle for a victory by the line of reform and accord rests on the entire party, especially its committees inside enterprises and colleges. The Politburo appreciates the effort of party comrades and organizations who boldly defend the party's interests and struggle for the party's good image and social support for it. The entire party is obliged to render them active and essential help. No one may refuse to give it.

122. A considerable number of party members, and even aktivs, are asking: Who are we going with, and where are going? What are the limits of compromise? What is it that defines the party's line of strategy?

123. There are three principles that guide the party in the development of dialogue and in the aim to expand the social base of the reforms and the platform of national accord.

First—the line of dialogue and accord is permanent. This stems from the very essence of the party's political line and from the decisions of the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses. In implementing this line, the party is unfailingly guided by the principle of not asking where one comes from as long as he holds a positive attitude toward those national problems that require solving, and is ready to contribute toward their solution.

Second, the limits of the talks and of acceptable solutions, including those on the subject of the reforms to the political system, are set by political principles, particularly the following: a recognition of the predominant social ownership of the factors of production as an unshakable foundation of the system, Poland's place in the socialist community, and its political alliances as a guarantee that the basis principles and values of the socialist order will be revealed.

Third, political affairs. Revealing and comparing various kinds of political orientations and views must be transferred to the natural place for this kind of activity—political institutions.

124. Legal regulations are an important instrument in implementing social goals and a barrier against voluntaristic activity. The law lays down the mechanisms that strengthen the system and state, and establish the limits of the activity of individuals, social groups, and associations. Legal regulations should be, and even must be, changed and improved wherever justified. However, the law in force must be obeyed. Party bodies and people are obliged to guard the law, and at the same time set an example of obedience to it.

The Party in the Economy

125. The new rules of economic activity require new attitudes toward the economy and a new way of thinking about the role of the state in the economy, ways of dividing produced goods, the role of citizens and social groups in economic processes, and their attitudes toward work. Efficient, productive work is the duty of citizens, and the basic criterion for assessing individuals and groups. Only through work can the riches of the country, region, enterprise, and family be increased. Work also guarantees man's self-fulfillment in the process of management. All this calls for a profound reassessment of the role of the party, especially the ways of implementing the party's role in economic policy.

126. Enterprises must take economic decisions independently, reaping advantages and improving their financial results thanks to suitable and justified decisions, and, at the same time, taking the risk and bearing the consequences for inappropriate ones. Our aim is for enterprises to possess a promarket orientation. Having long-term social goals in mind, the state should influence the decisions of enterprises in such a way that they bring tangible, social results.

In practice, this means means abandoning administrative-political interference in the production processes of independent enterprises. Of course, this does not mean a lax approach toward market developments, nor does it mean depriving these processes of the prospects that stem from social objectives. We also consider it essential to sharpen the economic-legal instruments of influencing producers who hold a monopoly in the economy, and to eliminate these monopolies in order to improve economic efficiency. Party members and organizations should play a particularly energetic role in combating monopolistic practices, especially those that take place at the cost of consumers.

127. The party is in favor of developing a multisectored national economy, while retaining the domination of social ownership. Social ownership will continue to be the basis for socialist social relations, as well as a foundation of the country's development. It permits a better coordination of economic processes with social objectives than other forms of ownership do. It opens up new, though still not fully used, possibilities for the development of production forces. It creates real chances of implementing the principle of social justice, which is fundamental for socialism. It harmonizes conflicting interests better. It encourages and propagates modernity better, and makes world social achievements accessible to everyone.

128. In a multisectored economy, the cooperative sector may and should play a greater role than it has so far. We are opposed to the practice of "nationalizing" the cooperative sector. The party is in favor of developing various forms of cooperatives; at the same time the party supports the idea of considerably increasing their role in the solving of Poland's socioeconomic problems. This will require an expansion of the functions of cooperative self-management bodies, as well as increased energy from the party members belonging to them.

129. The party is in favor of stable new principles of socioeconomic policy, including the equal status of economic sectors and freedom to undertake economic activity. We understand this equal status to mean new conditions and possibilities for the functioning of socialized and nonsocialized economic units, their equal access to the factors of production, and equal economic parameters and instruments applicable to them.

130. We consider private ownership to be an integral part of the national economy, a way of satisfying many social needs. We are in favor of the creation of stable conditions for the development of this sector. This does not mean privatizing financial resources and human initiative, but making broad use of them in order to increase output.

We must see to it that all forms of enterprise do not turn into something completely opposite to their intended purpose, in other words, speculation involving the national income, and pathological phenomena that are contrary to the principles of socialism, social justice, the norms of social coexistence, and morality. This is particularly important today, at a time of shortages and economic imbalance.

131. This kind of approach toward problems of ownership permits a qualitative restructuring of the socialized economy in such a way that it can match the competition posed by other sectors and make fuller use of its possibilities. The transformation of ownership relations, especially the adoption of new forms of management over social ownership, should be subordinated to three basic economic criteria: management efficiency, social justice, and the supremacy of man in the production process. In this context, we consider the leasing of factors of production, plus the issuance of shares and bonds, to be a way of socializing state ownership.

132. The party supports the functioning of the supervisory councils of enterprises belonging to various sectors of the national economy. The duty of party members belonging to these councils is to coordinate the interests of the enterprises with supreme social interests.

133. The reformed rules of management place the state's entire social policy in a new light. The proposed changes in this regard, presented by the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Policy, are currently the subject of social consultations, including ones with the trade unions.

The proposed changes are primarily meant to increase the efficiency of the system of social benefits, address these benefits to those individuals and groups that need them the most, and make benefits more closely dependent on work results.

A draft of these changes, taking the results of the social consultations into account, will be discussed by the National Conference of PZPR Delegates.

134. Wherever the workers class is, the party and its structures and organizations must also be. The political and economic unity which we heed so clearly in everyday life is manifested in the party's presence in every enterprise and at every post manned by a party member. The economy is a sphere of activity engaged in by broad masses of working people, serving the interests of the nation and satisfying the needs and aspirations of society. It is the economy that creates the basis for implementing the objectives of socialism. In such a structure, there can be no shortage of space for the party as one of the main forces of social control over each segment of our economy.

The Party in the Workplace

135. As a party, along with its cells, we are just learning how to operate under the conditions created by the economic reform and in independent and self-governing

enterprises. Our efforts so far have primarily concentrated on spreading knowledge about the reform and creating programs of action. It is now time to implement these programs.

136. Party organizations in the workplace are and will be essential during the reform. However, they must operate according to different principles, principles that are different from those that exist under a centralized, command-directive economic system. Many party organizations already operate differently. The party is ceasing to be a supreme institution, the organ responsible for production. It is a force that participates in creating the work force's social system and cooperates with management, but does not jointly run the enterprise. The party is increasingly performing its tasks not through administrative directives, but through party comrades in management and in self-management organs above all.

Some functions of primary party organizations are changing. While remaining a political task, traditional areas of party responsibility in the workplace (productivity, economizing on the use of raw materials and energy, improving efficiency, innovation, the quality of the output) are also becoming a basic responsibility of the administration, self-management bodies, and trade unions, that is, of the entire work force, and of party people in particular.

At the same time, there is a growing need for the primary party organization to be a center for innovative concepts, political actions that have an integrating effect, support for social initiatives, and asserting human qualities in the working environment and in the development of local communities. Party organizations have an important role to play in promoting modern forms and methods of organizing work processes, including the development and strengthening of partnership groups.

The economic reform is also resulting in a sharper conflict of various views and interests than was the case previously—conflicts involving management, employee self-management bodies, trade unions, and youth organizations.

The effect of this is that politics within the enterprise as a form of interplay between diverse needs and aspirations is assuming growing importance. What is taking place is a gradual decline in the belief that the political aspect of the workplace means, on the one hand, obeying administrative orders and directives from above, and, on the other hand, interest group pressure from below on the decisions made by associations and ministries.

In light of this situation, it is becoming very clear that there is a need for an element that has a unifying and mediating role, and this is a role that should be performed by the primary party organization. The activity of the primary party organization is and should be a function of a social need. It is a question of a real role for the party in the workplace, a role that arises from the needs of people and workers and suits their basic interests. This depends on party people themselves.

137. The most effective way of increasing the authority of the party lies in the personal example set by the party member, good, above-average work, attitudes toward people who are not party members, and opposition to social ills. Only this kind of action, combined with new forms and substance for the functioning of the independent, self-managing, and self-financing enterprise and a new understanding of the role of primary party organization provides a real opportunity to discredit the view that party activity is not producing and will not produce the expected results.

138. So what are the chief tasks facing party organizations in enterprises?

First, the duty to think and act for the sake of the long-term development of the enterprise; to coordinate the interests of the enterprise with general social interests; to provide economic and political education to work forces; to discuss with the work forces working conditions in the enterprise and ways of changing them; and to support innovation and bold activity, especially in the struggle to combat stagnation, bureaucracy, and a lack of confidence in the reforms;

Second, placing working people and their needs at the center of party attention. Everything that the party does in an enterprise is for the benefit of man and a struggle against his alienation. There are still many improper interpersonal relations in enterprises; still many cases of arrogance, envy, and unfair assessment and compensation. Nothing will relieve party members of the responsibility to combat these phenomena.

Third, a cadre policy that cares for the best cadres and permits an expansion of their talents; provides the best conditions for inventers and rationalizers; makes effective use of their achievements; and sees to it that the work of the most efficient cadres receives acknowledgement. Further party commitments involve constant cooperation with leadership cadres in order to combine the professional qualifications of these cadres with an ability to set a social and political example, plus an ability to establish contact with nonparty people and obtain their opinions.

Fourth, a modern socialist plant creates its own social fabric, consisting of related institutions. Caring for this fabric and embroidering it onto the production-social tapestry of the entire plant is an important task. Party tasks in this sphere include exercising particular concern for the working conditions of old-age and retirement pensioners, and daily contact with young people—with those young people who come to us. Factory schools, workers' dormitories, and social and cultural premises must remain at the center of the party's attention. The party must see to it that all the nonproduction functions of a plant are fulfilled.

Fifth, a workplace is a complex and delicate network of institutions and social organizations. It comprises a functional framework of relations between the party organization, director, self-management body, trade union, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, and social organizations; however, this is a framework that can be brought out of balance. The party's task is to take the lead inside this framework, to teach political culture and the culture of joint activity, and to care for the position of individual bodies and to coordinate their interests.

Neither can one forget the fact that each work enterprise is firmly entrenched in the community: in a city, district, village, and neighborhood. The party's task is to care for this community and see to it that proper relations exist between the enterprise and the social environment.

The Party and Self-Management Bodies

139. A particularly important party obligation is to support the self-management bodies. These bodies were born out of the aspirations of work forces to take part in real management over enterprises. The modern shape of these bodies was provided by the party's programmatic thinking. They are an inseparable part of the socialist line of renewal and national accord. The integration of the work forces encourages the work of these bodies. This work has become a social foundation of the economic reform.

The most important path of activity of self-management bodies is the efficiency of enterprises. The most important gauge of the effectiveness of these bodies is their influence on the results of enterprises; their efforts to expand production; a high quality of production; a rational consumption of materials, fuel, and energy; high productivity; and proper wage proportions.

The right of work forces to form self-management bodies is inalienable. This provides the parent bodies of enterprises and enterprise managers with statutory duties vis-a-vis these bodies. Violating this right and these duties should be treated as a violation of the party programmatic line.

140. Party organizations will encourage the development of self-management bodies in enterprises, as well as the system of work brigades and other organized forms of work.

It is essential to create broad possibilities for the formation of self-management bodies in the Polish State Railroad, banks, and scientific institutions.

It is essential to consolidate the pro-self-management orientation in the party itself. The role of the party in an enterprise is largely connected with cooperation with self-management bodies and with an influence on their proper functioning. The role and attitude of self-management bodies provides an illustration of the efficiency of a factory party organization.

The party is concerned that self-management activists should be bold and steadfast in the performance of their duties. It is in favor of more effective legal protection for such activists.

At the same time, however, it must be clear that any attempt to take advantage of the powers of self-management bodies in order to stage a show of political opposition to the state and its constitutional principles and to incite the work forces will meet with firm reaction. This is essential for the sake of the workers themselves and for the sake of the permanence of their self-management bodies. Self-management bodies arose as institutions of socialist democracy, and only as institutions of socialist democracy are they needed by Poland.

141. Self-management bodies in their modern form are young institutions. This creates the need to improve the abilities of self-management activists and respect and publicize the best experiences. The press, radio, television, publishing houses, and educational institutions should play a greater role in this sphere.

The party acknowledges the usefulness of cooperation between self-management bodies from different enterprises in order to exchange experiences. Therefore we approve the idea of self-management chambers, suggested by economic and self-management activists. These chambers could consist of enterprise managers and representatives of enterprise self-management bodies, who would join them on a voluntary basis. They could perform a useful role by issuing opinions on draft legislation, assessing the implementation of economic undertakings, and acting as mediators in disputes between enterprises. These chambers could also organize exchanges of experiences between workplaces, managements, and self-management bodies.

The party is in favor of consolidating and improving the Sejm's work with self-management bodies. During their legislative and control work, Sejm party deputies should see to it that the position of self-management bodies is strengthened and the conditions for their work improved.

The party will inspire legislative initiatives and undertake activity that strengthens the position of self-management bodies as a permanent part of socialist production relations. We do not rule out a search for new forms of workers' self-management. The need for such new forms will grow in line with different forms of ownership and the emergence of appropriate new forms of management. We must meet this need halfway even today.

The Party and the Trade Unions

142. The party attaches particular importance to strong and developing trade unions. Today, the reborn trade unions include most working people. They express the interests and aspirations of working people in their struggle for supremacy in the socialist state. A democratic, decentralized structure of trade unions means that the trade union movement expresses a variety of workers interests, and not just on an enterprise scale. Thanks to this, the trade unions can act as a kind of "early warning mechanism" wherever the activity of the authorities diverges from the expectations of society. Partnerlike joint activity with the trade unions, party support of their effort to increase their internal democracy, and a defense of their independence in the face of bureaucracy lie in the party's most profound interests. Ignoring signals coming from the workers class and an administrative playing down of the trade unions has caused socialism enough damage already.

143. The party recognizes the trade unions as a valuable partner in supporting the reforms and tidying up the economy. Such a partnership can only be fulfilled if working people are convinced that the trade unions defend their interests and guarantee a respect for their dignity at work.

Disputes between trade unions and the administration are inevitable. This stems from the very function of the trade unions. The point is that these disputes should be settled in accordance with the law, without damage to the identity of either side or to the national economy.

The party will render firm support to all worker initiatives aimed at improving and developing productivity, working conditions, proper recreation, culture, and sports.

144. The trade unions are a natural forum for the emergence of different views and workers' interests. Such an internal difference is natural. The point is that work forces should be united within a trade union, not divided.

145. We support the work of the OPZZ in seeking new patterns for the trade union movement. We are encouraging, not discouraging, an expansion of discussions on the subject of an optimum model for the trade union movement and proper forms of pluralism. Nothing is determined once and for all. The present limitations on the 1982 trade union act are the result of major and justified fears that the new trade unions may once again become forums of antistate opposition and activity that disrupts production.

It is the work force itself that will determine the future shape of the trade unions. However, we will oppose attempts to use the trade union movement for political manipulation and to transform enterprises into political battlefields. Completely justified is the concern that the spontaneous desire for trade union activity not be abused to the detriment of workers' and social interests, the stability of the people's state, social calm, the unity of the workers class, and the effectiveness of the economic reforms. The party will resolutely guard these supreme interests.

The Party in the Non-Socialized Sector

146. The party's presence should be clearly felt wherever there is a party member. Some of our comrades are going over to the nonsocialized sector of the economy. There they have a special duty to implement the party line. We cannot allow this sector to remain, in a sense, outside the sphere of socialist values and the social aspirations arising from them.

While pinning hopes on individual initiative and economic activity, the party will oppose all attempts to abuse this. Something that is particularly impermissible is the use of party, state, or administrative functions to derive additional material benefits. A person who enjoys public confidence must provide a guarantee of honesty, objectivity, and impartiality. Receiving a share in the profits of companies and profits from other forms of economic activity through the influence and powers that a person has because of the post that he holds rather than by means of personal effort or through private financial resources is incompatible with the ethics of public service. It is, quite simply, at variance with party membership.

147. What will be the place and political importance of the workers class and working people in the nonsocialized sector of the economy? What position will the PZPR create for itself in this sector? Future experience will provide answers to these questions. We should be guided by the principle that the party cannot fail to be active in any important and, in particular, rapidly developing, dynamic social group.

III. CHANGES IN THE PARTY

148. The entire model of the party, its structure and internal system, must change and be reformed in a way that suits the changing role of the party in the state, the economy, and public life.

The current model of the party is subject to extensive pressure from all the contradictions in the construction of socialism that have accumulated and not been resolved in a timely fashion. In its current form, it far from guarantees and does not sufficiently force effective activity under new conditions.

In many areas, party internal structures and the forms and methods of party activity still have little effect and are inflexible. They provide too little room for initiative and giving tasks a personal character. Democratic centralism is often more centralist than democratic, and tends more toward decisions made above than to rank-and-file feeling. So far, it has not been possible to eliminate the fear of independent action, of taking bold risks. Much community-oriented energy, knowledge, opportunities, and a willingness to be active on the part of party members are being wasted.

149. The Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Secretariat must make a reliable assessment of actions designed to raise standards of efficiency in the work carried out by central, regional, and primary party cells. It must be established whether, among other things, full use is being made of organizational, propagandistic, and ideological-educational opportunities for consolidating party ranks, releasing the energy of party members, and initiating the changes in the PZPR that are expected. To what extent are we succeeding in converting the thought contained in programs into an intelligible source of inspiration and motivation for political activity conducted by the party and its members? How can we increase discipline with respect to implementation, which is something that aids the effectiveness of party activity? An attempt to answer these questions should be made in the documents that are being prepared for the national delegate conference.

150. The Politburo is aware of the need to observe work schedules more fully, to announce the dates and topics of future plenary meetings of the Central Committee in good time, and to make members of the Central Committee play a more active role in preparations for plenary meetings. The following should be done to increase the role of Central Committee members in the decisionmaking process between plenary meetings:

—Their right to announce candidates for important party and state posts should be affirmed;

—The work of Central Committee commissions should be stepped up and improved, and working groups dealing with specific issues should be established more often;

—Series of meetings for smaller groups of Central Committee members should be organized, and this should be done on the basis of regions or branches of the economy;

—It should be made possible for Central Committee members, along the lines of what is being already done by deputies, to be periodically available to citizens for the purpose of hearing observations and suggestions, as well as complaints and petitions;

—It should be ensured that information about members and their opinions and views are presented more fully in the mass media.

As for Central Committee plenary sessions themselves, in many cases they do not have to be the result of lengthy preparations and begin with a basic report and end with an extensive resolution. Some of them can and should have the character of an efficient, working, and collective response to important events and issues. Meetings of this kind would represent a natural evolution of the Central Committee member consultative meetings, which are the achievement of recent years.

A Cadre Party or a Mass Party

151. The following dilemma frequently occurs during the search for paths of party renewal: Should the mass nature of the party be developed, or, on the contrary, should the political and economic reforms be used to make the party a cadre organization? This is a question involving the principles and criteria of party membership.

152. The argument in favor of a cadre party is that the party is meant to consist only of very energetic members who fulfill all the stringent statutory requirements. In such a case, the party would be smaller than it is today, but organizationally more efficient and more militant.

However, such a party does not suit today's reality, nor the reality foreseen in the future. Democratization and the involvement of more people in the process of government means that the party has to struggle for the support of society, votes, an attractive program, and efficient organization. Therefore it cannot base its leadership merely on the energy of a narrow group of members, even if they are dedicated.

153. Poland and socialism need a mass party, one that forms its identity by means of its determination, consistency, and effectiveness in action.

In practice, this means a party with a relatively large membership, one capable of renewing its ranks, attracting people who are energetic and creative, and expelling people who are passive and indifferent. It also means a party capable of taking into account the interests and aspirations of the masses that comprise its social base. Therefore, the yardstick for the party's mass nature should be not just the number of members, but mainly the degree of social support for it.

Such a party requires the constant encouragement of multifaceted ideological and theoretical activity. It means adapting party education to the interests, concerns, and expectations of members. Only then can the party perform the function of the collective intellectual of its class and the whole of society, renew its identity without losing its essence, and attract the most creative and dynamic social milieus.

Such a party needs to have a new language of political communication and more effective information activity so that support is gathered for its political line and action.

154. It is necessary to rid oneself of the reluctance to talk about the party's intentions and real achievements openly, and discuss what stops it from presenting itself as the driving force behind change. It is necessary to publicize what is best and most valuable and the results achieved by the party, especially its leading organizations and cells in the work of renewal and reforms, in accordance with the slogan: Propaganda for the sake of success.

Democracy and Centralism

155. The mechanisms and style of party action should make it easier to express different programmatic lines and concepts before a binding decision is made. This would permit an open and sincere exchange of arguments, opinions, and views. This exchange has to be encouraged, and for this purpose it is necessary to accept ideas in good faith as a sign of desire to improve things.

156. A lively flow of thoughts and democratic political culture would be encouraged by political clubs, centers of sociopolitical thought, associations with a left-wing ideological profile, press debates, and so on. Lenin wrote: "A struggle between differences in the party is inevitable and essential, as long as it does not lead to anarchy and collapse, and as long as it takes place within a framework jointly approved by all comrades."

157. Party decisions on basic issues should be prepared on the basis of scientific knowledge and preceded by forecasts of their positive and negative consequences. It takes time for the party to prepare to take fundamental decisions and permit an influence on the very essence of these decisions, not just the final shape of them. Then it will be possible to combine the professional element of decisionmaking with the social element, and bring about a better cohesion of individual decisions and make sure that they conform to the party's long-term strategy.

The Politburo considers it expedient to adopt the practice whereby important draft decisions begin with party debates and consultations with nonparty people, and that alternative decisions be presented.

158. We know from experience that the majority is not always right. Sometimes the minority is right. Therefore it is necessary to establish effective and democratic mechanisms of verifying interests inside the party from a political angle so that while adhering to the principle of adopting those decisions that enjoy majority support, the views and assessments of the minority are also taken into account. The minority's right to defend its interests and cause a reexamination of issues on which decisions have already been reached should be guaranteed. It is worth considering whether the experiences of other parties may be of use during the Polish search for similar solutions.

Democracy means the right for people who think differently to vote and speak out; it means solidarity with these people for the sake of supreme objectives. On the other hand, democracy also implies the Jacobin maxim whereby there can be no democracy without opponents to democracy, without people who would like to destroy democracy by means of its own instruments.

159. Democracy possesses insurmountable limits. Democratic centralism is governed according to basic rules that cannot be broken. Our slogan should be: As much democracy as possible in searches, discussions, and disputes, and as much discipline and responsibility as possible in the implementation of decisions. Neither a party that is a "centralized political army," nor a party that is a "debating society" can meet the mounting challenges and requirements.

160. The system for selecting the party's leading aktiv must undergo a fundamental change. The Politburo proposes the adoption and propagation of the following principle: Before being elected, every member of an executive party echelon—at every level, including the central one—should publicly outline his concept for the implementation of the party program and his idea of the actions that he wants to take. Elections in the party should assume a livelier form, through greater competition in styles and methods of operation, as well as the ways in which resolutions should be implemented. This course will facilitate the development of high standards in cadre policy, as well as innovative, efficient mechanisms for the selection of party leaders.

161. A modern party of a genuinely new kind must create conditions everywhere for the constant selection of the best cadres. Party recommendations or opinions should be an important, but final element in cadre policy, and not—and this has been the case more often than not—the central issue, the basic form of work with cadres.

Cadre selection should be an on-going competition, one that is constantly repeated. What does this mean in practice? We have to strive to apply the principle of the "best person for a given place at a given time."

It is not enough for a person to be good if there is another person who is better. Cadre changes should be instituted in a more efficient and resolute manner when it seems appropriate and possible to increase the efficiency of operations, and not just because a term of office is drawing to a close or because it is time for new elections.

The Primary Party Organization in the Party Structure

162. Primary organizations are the basic cell; they are the front line in our party's life, work, and struggle. The 10th congress made important reassessments and recognized the need to increase the sovereignty of the primary party organization, to increase its initiative, autonomy, and responsibility. These tasks, which were given concrete form in the fourth Central Committee plenum resolution, were addressed to all levels of party activity.

Positive reassessments are gradually being made by many primary party organizations. Groups dealing with specific issues and tasks are being established in some primary party organizations. The problems raised by the search for a place for primary organizations in local level political systems, plants, and enterprises under the reform are becoming more tangible.

However, it has to be admitted that we are still at the beginning of the road with respect to the process of bringing about the widespread application of the decisions adopted at the fourth Central Committee plenum. All party organizations and committees and all party members should subordinate their activity to the implementation of these decisions.

163. The concept of party membership and the performance of statutory tasks stemming from this concept should undergo changes and assume a more disciplined role, but membership of the party cannot be solely limited to greater and increased duties. It has to satisfy people's private expectations, and create a broader scope for activity and socially oriented aspirations. Membership should provide satisfaction in the knowledge that one is useful to the community, and facilitate the process of self-realization.

164. Today, party activity is primarily focused on the workplace. The workplace will remain the party's most important environment.

165. At the same time, something that is very keenly felt is the insufficient degree of activity, even absence, of primary party organizations at the regional level, where important political campaigns are taking place and will take place with increasing frequency. Appropriate steps have to be taken with respect to the growing divergence between the present, largely production-institution oriented place of primary organizations and the need to strengthen the party at the regional level as a result of the reform.

The concept of primary party organization work at the regional level should take account, above all, of tasks connected with party influence on the composition and activity of regional organs of government and the state administration, as well as the maintenance of a close link with inhabitants, their self-government bodies, and local authorities. Acting in conjunction with their allies, party cells should become fully effective as centers providing inspiration for people's councils and overseeing the local administration in matters relating to the implementation of election programs, the functioning of public institutions, services, education, and the social infrastructure.

It is possible to create a party community at the regional level, and to integrate party members with various occupational communities to a greater extent. This provides party members with extensive room for activity and for becoming involved in issues that are important to a given community.

It is necessary to formulate appropriate organizational concepts and mechanisms that would bring about a fundamental increase in party activity in local communities. It is worth considering the usefulness of introducing dual primary party organization membership—work place membership and place of residence membership—on a much greater scale than that envisaged by the statute.

166. Noting an increase in the importance of ties connected with associations and of cooperation ties in the economy and in public life, the Politburo deems it useful to reconsider the question of horizontal cooperation between various party organizations and communities. As a whole, we consider the experiences of a few years ago to be negative. The political situation that existed at that time meant that, objectively, in most cases horizontal ties served to weaken the party and led to factionalism. However, this does not rule out the principle as such. If the application of this principle stems from a community of interests on the part of social, occupational, regional, or economic groups, then this should be increasingly reflected—on an experimental basis, initially—in the practical activities of primary party organizations.

167. There should not be any stereotypes and fixed patterns in the party's political and organizational activity. The party program defines the framework of party activity, while the statute defines what is essential in order to establish ideological-political identity and assure a unity of party action. Apart from that, a broad field of independent activity and initiatives is presenting itself, thanks to the unrepeatable individual nature and countenance of each party organization.

168. Primary party organizations are becoming, and should become, increasingly independent in implementing the line of the party and selecting ways of implementing this line in accordance with the requirements posed by the milieu in which they are situated.

The Politburo suggests that primary party organizations should formulate their programs of work on the basis of the resolutions of congresses, conferences, Central Committee plenums, lower-level committee plenums, and their own accountability and report-back meetings. However, concrete tasks to be implemented by the primary party organizations should should stem from an understanding of the situation and the needs of the relevant community, and not from instructions and petty guidelines from higher-level organizations. Party committees have the duty to help primary party organizations in their work, create conditions for the development of their independence and initiative, and publicize good examples. All party cells should support the work of the primary party organizations and the aktivs of primary bodies, and eliminate their recurring feeling of isolation. It is necessary to see to it that the work of the primary party organizations is coordinated with that of party aktivs and the party apparatus, assure an efficient flow of information, and create a system of advice and help for primary party organizations. These organizations should be more independent, but less apart.

Cells and the Apparatus

170. The structure and scope of action of party committees and the party apparatus should be shaped in such a way that they provide greater assistance for party leaderships at all levels in implementing basic tasks, and that

political workers may render greater assistance to PZPR deputies, councillors, self-government activists, and all those who hold elected posts in bodies of authority. Party aktivs and the party apparatus should abandon activities that are parallel to those of the state and economic administration.

171. The Politburo considers it necessary to alter the structure of committees. So far, their structure has been a repetition of that of central party bodies. Instead, the Politburo recommends a more functional structure. Existing social commissions and problems teams should be restructured in a similar way. At the same time, the work of the party apparatus should be coordinated more closely with the work of commissions and teams of experts, and bodies that form part of the party apparatus should become the working secretariats of social bodies. Professionalism on the part of the apparatus also involves knowledge and the ability to win over adherents and take advantage of the wisdom and experiences of teams of social activists.

172. The party cannot rule according to outdated formulas. This process at all levels, especially at the central and voivodship level, should stem from clearly-defined priorities and tasks, and not be buried beneath an avalanche of individual decisions, recommendations, schedules, instructions, and so on. We often forget that these instructions reach the very bottom—the factory committees, rural committees, and urban committees—where the number of full-time employees can frequently be counted on the fingers of one hand. What is more, they create a mountain of paper which no is able to digest.

173. One has to reject the style whereby conferences and resolutions are the backbone of party work. Not every issue has to be settled at a conference; not every conference has to end in a resolution. What is needed is a work style in which the discussions by party committees are businesslike, and their decisions clear.

174. Party discussions and meetings should be regarded as a collective way of deciding upon fundamental issues that lie within the scope of the party body in question. Greater attention should be attached to open meetings as a forum of discussion and joint activity with nonparty people. On the other hand, one should clearly formulate the criteria by which the work of party organizations and cells is assessed. After all, these assessments will not be made on the basis of the number of party meetings held and resolutions adopted, but on the basis of work results, influence on the sociopolitical and economic situation, the climate of interpersonal relationships, and so on.

We said at the 10th congress that the "main still undefeated weakness is the low effectiveness of implementing resolutions and decisions." Let us add that this is a task that has still not been implemented. This is the party's greatest weakness, the reason why we have lost our credibility.

175. The Politburo is in favor of continuing the process of improving the selection and functioning of the party apparatus.

Like every political organization, the party needs an executive apparatus with a high degree of knowledge and qualifications, one that is dedicated to the cause and guarantees efficient action. Party work calls for mobility and flexibility, total commitment, and regular training, frequently at the cost of family and social life. A reduction in the number of full-time posts, with consequently more rational wages for full-time party officials, will help stop the exodus of young, energetic, and well-educated people from full-time party employment. At the same time, people who leave the party apparatus should be assured of jobs that suit their knowledge and the valuable qualities and experience that they have gained.

176. In accordance with the decisions of the fourth plenum, changes are being made in the work and structure of the party apparatus. The Politburo believes that these changes should be enhanced and accelerated. We will support initiatives aimed at making the work of party committees more open to society, by appointing social secretaries to party cells, concentrating the activity of the apparatus on rendering assistance to primary party organizations, and seeking more effective ways for these organizations to perform their changed roles.

177. The Politburo proposes to reduce the number of posts in the Central Committee and voivodship committees and transfer some officials to the field and to the front line of party activity, even to rural areas, cities, districts, and workplaces.

178. The system of selecting cadres for the party apparatus should help find comrades with various types of political experience and various professions. Three types of roles in the party apparatus should appear:
—Experts and analysts. Flexible employment rules should be applied to this category. They should possess a high degree of independence. They should cooperate with problems commissions and the relevant state structures. Their appointment will be approved by special boards that possess increased powers.
—Aktivists in the ideological front, propaganda, and agitation;
—Organizers of party activity and internal party life. Their work, especially at the state level, should be accorded special recognition.

Experimenting

179. Recently, the party leadership has been sanctioning experimental organizational solutions involving, among other things, the functioning of some PZPR bodies. The initial experience gained from this is positive. Nevertheless, it is too soon for complete conclusions. Spreading these solutions further afield requires new statutory regulations. They also have to be coordinated with the system of political work in force in our party so far.

Continual experimentation is essential, especially today, in a time of major change. It illustrates creative unrest and dissatisfaction with stagnant work methods, and a desire to seek ways of effective action, ways for the party to perform its role and function, and ways to increase its ties with the workers class and society.

180. The Politburo believes that these experiments should primarily serve to consolidate the role of the primary party organizations and raise their status in the community in which they are situated. The organizations should change their style of work, from purely issuing orders and directives to encouraging and inspiring party members to perform work better work. These experiments should also encourage more effective influence by party members on the work of state administrative bodies, self-management bodies, and social organizations. Realizing that the seeking of new organizational solutions is a method of improving the work of the party, the Politburo considers it essential to regularly assess the effects of these experiments. The experiences of party cells in the voivodships of Slupsk, Skierniewice, Legnica, Koszalin, and some others indicates that this path is a correct one.

181. The Politburo considers it urgent for the Academy of Social Sciences to undertake research into the party in accordance with the program suggested by the Central Committee Secretariat. The results of this research will be widely distributed in the party, and should serve as a basis for enhanced analyses, encouraging even better decisions.

182. The PZPR is a great and varied community of ideas, people, and organizations.

There is much that binds us—a feeling of ideological-patriotic duty; close links with the party program, which arose out of the aims, desires, and values of the workers class; creative unrest; a feeling of solidarity with the party as a living and developing organism, which forms part of the life of those who joined the party out of an internal need and are illustrating this need by means of their daily attitude, activity, successes, defeats, and crises; and an aim to tidy up thoughts and actions and group them around socially accepted objectives.

All this calls for mutual respect and confidence and a consolidation of our ideological-political and organizational community.

183. We hear that party membership does not give much today, and that, on the contrary, it merely shoulders one with the blame for political and economic failures.

It is true that membership in our community is not a free ticket to an easy career and lifelong profits. It is good that the most opportunistic motives for joining the party no longer apply. They only seemed to strengthen the party. People who felt no ideological bond with the workers class but merely hoped to reap personal advantages did not increase our strength. They decreased it, especially at a time that was difficult for Poland and for them.

184. So what does it mean to be a party member today? Ideological and political motives are the most important. The most important reason for joining our community is and should be a desire to perform harmonious, above-average work and create a future for Poland that is really worthy of national aspirations. The party's increasing proreformist orientation is encouraging this. It is restoring the sense of socialist ideals. It is opening broad possibilities for energetic, capable people who want to achieve success for the sake of broader, social interests. The party is not just a place for romantic altruists. In its ranks are enough tasks and chances for anyone who is honestly striving toward personal success.

185. Years ago, at a time of dramatic crisis, accumulated difficulties, and sharp political and ideological struggle, the party undertook the historic task of reforming the system and carrying out major internal changes. This showed the party's energy and strength. What we do in the coming months—whether we manage to restructure the functions, structure, and activity of the party in line with the new political and economic requirements—will determine whether we can succeed in providing a new shape to socialism and regain our full ability to lead society.

186. The Politburo suggests that the general party debate on the subject of our programmatic offer and on all aspects of the organization and functioning of the party be stepped up until the 11th congress. This debate should take place not just within primary party organizations, but everywhere—in every community. It should develop into uninhibited joint activity and discussion between various party cells, primary party organizations, and individual party members. This will permit the revealing of all views and opinions, the working out of various groups of concepts, and the liberation of all schools of thought. Such a universal party self-examination should open and widen the road to truly effective reforms, and to the renewal and healing of the PZPR.

187. Questions are frequently asked about the limits to the reform and about the permissible frontiers of change. We reply: In the political and socioeconomic system of the People's Republic, nothing is inviolable and final, because the point is to reform the system and—apart from the basic social objectives of socialism—modernize the Polish raison d'etat.

Olechowski Interviewed on 1989 Goals

LD3112183888 Warsaw PAP in English
1658 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 31—Answering a question asked by PAP on the most important goals of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1989, Poland's foreign minister, Tadeusz Olechowski, stated:

"The most important tasks for me and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1989 will be backing the programme of reforms, the processes of restructuring and internal democratization. The point is in such shaping and development of Poland's relations with other countries so as to create the best possible conditions for the realization of our national interests."

"As for activities aimed at detente and disarmament, we will support the urgent winding up of the Vienna CSCE meeting, launching the negotiations of the Warsaw Treaty's and NATO's 23 countries on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and negotiations of 35 countries on the means of building confidence and security on our continent. As part of these talks, we assume entering into the negotiations stage of the contents of the Jaruzelski Plan which is the main line of our activities in the international disarmament dialogue. At the same time, this will bring us closer to other important goals, namely overcoming Europe's divides, and materializing the vision of the common European home," the minister said.

"We intend to strengthen, on the principle of an authentic partnership, the relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, to make efforts aimed at eliminating difficulties and hindrances, to take advantage of reserves in all fields of cooperation, particularly economic cooperation," he added.

"We will continue the policy of opennes in all directions. There exists a chance of restoring our position as an attractive, promising long-term partner. Our balance-sheet of reliability as viewed by foreign countries is considerably improving. All in all, we envisage a large activity," Olechowski concluded.

Council of State on People's Councils

LD3012220988 Warsaw PAP in English
2102 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 30—The Council of State today reviewed the state of preparations putting into practice the amended provisions of the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government as of January 1, 1989.

So far 780 state-owned enterprises have been turned over to people's councils. This is associated with the new legal solutions creating conditions for the fuller participation of people's councils in local economic undertakings through their taking part in the setting up of enterprises, establishing partnerships, buying shares in cooperatives, gathering funds through bonds emission, and the like.

The Council of State has decided to systematically analyse, starting from the second quarter of 1989, how the people's councils use the amended regulations.

The Council of State made a preliminary assessment of the course and outcome of the electoral campaign in elections to self-governments of cities and villages. The campaign has practically been concluded.

The Council of State discussed the key directions of its work in 1989, among them:
—expeditious and universal application of the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government,
—supervising full respect of the self-government of people's councils and their systemic role towards the state and economic administration,
—supporting the process of building national agreement,
—strengthening and enriching broadly understood coalition in the work of people's councils and the whole system of state bodies,
—boosting and supporting all forms of social activity,
—deepening law abindingness and strengthening the social prestige of bodies of the administration of justice and prosecution by influencing the perfection of their performance,
—acting to strengthen Poland's international position.

New Regulations on People's Councils Explained

LD0101171589 Warsaw PAP in English
1609 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 1—New regulations designed to amend the law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government come into force as of January 1, 1989.

Asked to say what it meant in practice for the socio-political life, Director of the Office of People's Councils of the Chancellory of the Council of State Milosz Wilkanowicz said that new regulations created chances for local representative bodies to be governed by the rules of the economic reform and to obtain benefit proportional to their own enterprise and activity.

The essence of the amendments should incline people's councils to establish and take care of sources of their own incomes.

It is expected that local authority bodies motivated by social and economic reasons will take care to improve market supply and will make incomes to finance education, culture, health care and local economic infrastructure, said he.

The new solutions will encourage councils and their executive and management bodies, voivodes and heads to develop craft, cooperatives, and companies without any ideological prejudice to forms of property, in tune with the directives of the economy under reform. Under the new legal solutions councils will be entitled to appoint and dismiss voivodes and town and village heads. They also ensure a more effective influence on appointment of other managers in the state administration, said Wilkanowicz.

Biographies of New Politburo Members

AU3012180688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Biographies of Newly-Appointed Politburo Members"]

[Text] Stanislaw Ciosek was born in 1939 in Pawlowice, to a family of teachers. He has a degree in economics. He has been a member of the PZPR since 1959. He began doing social work in the students union of the Higher School of Economics in Sopot. From 1960 to 1961, he was deputy chairman of the district council of the Polish Students Union in Gdansk, and then became chairman of it. In 1963, he became secretary of the Supreme Council of the Polish Students Union, from 1966 to 1969 he was deputy chairman of the union, and from 1969 to 1973 he was chairman of the union.

From 1973 to 1975, he was chairman of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth. From 1975 to 1980, he was first secretary of the Jelenia Gora party committee and chairman of the Jelenia Gora People's Council, after which, from 1980 to 1985, he was secretary of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee and deputy chairman of the Committee for Trade Union Cooperation. From 1983 to 1984, he was also minister of labor, wages, and social affairs.

From 1971 to 1980, he was a deputy member of the Central Committee, and from 1980 to 1981 he was a full member. The 10th congress made him a Central Committee secretary. In June 1988 he was made a candidate member of the Politburo. Since 1986, he has been chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Commission for Law, Order, and Moral Health. In 1968, the PRON National Council made him its secretary general. He has been a deputy in the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Sejms. He belongs to the Joint Commission of Government - Episcopate Representatives.

Kazimierz Cypryniak was born in 1934 in Wolka, Chelm Voivodship, to a family of peasants. He joined the PZPR in 1954. He began his working life in 1951 at the rural cooperative in Dorohusk. He was educated at the Higher School of Agriculture in Szczecin. From 1960 to 1970, he was secretary of the Stargard party committee and was then first secretary of this committee. From 1971 to 1980, he was a secretary in the Szczecin Voivodship party committee, of which he was made first secretary in 1981. The 10th plenum in 1981 made him a member of the Central Committee and then a secretary of it. Since July 1981, he has headed the PZPR Central Committee Organizational Department, and since 1985 he has headed the Political-Organizational Department. In 1985, the 19th plenum made him a Central Committee candidate member. The 10th congress made him a Central Committee secretary. He holds the Commander's Cross and Knight's Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth, plus the Order of the Standard of Labor, first class.

Iwona Lubowska was born in 1941 in Belzec, to a family of intelligentsia. She holds a degree in classical philology, and also completed postgraduate studies in political science. She has belonged to the PZPR since 1970. She started her working life in 1964 as a librarian, first at the National Library in Warsaw, and then at the State Clinical Hospital in Warsaw. In 1968, she was a librarian at the technical college for working people in Bielsko-Biala. However, she became a teacher at this college in 1972. Since 1980 she has been principal of the A. Asnyk High School in Bielsko-Biala. The 10th congress made her a Central Committee member. She is a member of the Executive Committee of the Bielsko-Biala party municipal committee.

Zbigniew Michalek was born in 1935 in Pszow, to a family of miners. He joined the PZPR in 1953. In 1958, he graduated from the Higher School of Agriculture in Krakow. He has worked at state farms, first as foreman, and then as deputy director of the state farm in Wojnowice. From 1960 to 1969 he was director of the state farm in Rychnow.

From 1965 to 1966, he gained agricultural experience at the agricultural mechanization faculty of Purdue University in Indiana, the United States. From 1969 to 1981, he was director of the agricultural combine in Glubczyce. From 1949 onwards he was active in the Union of Polish Youth, and was a councillor in rural people's councils. The Ninth congress made him a Central Committee secretary, and the 10th congress made him a Politburo candidate member. He holds the Knight's Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth.

Wiktor Pyrkosz was born in 1941 in Lodz, to a family of workers. He is a textile industry engineer by profession. He joined the PZPR in 1967, and belongs to the Lodz party committee. From 1970 onwards he worked his way up the professional ladder from machine operator to deputy director at the "Wola" knitwear factory in Zdunska Wola, after which he became the deputy director of the "Delta" knitwear plant in Lodz. From 1980 to 1982, he was the deputy director of the "Teofilow" plants, and since then he has been the director of it.

He belongs to the Supervisory Council of the Industrial Structural Changes Fund, and is an adviser to the minister of industry.

Gabriela Rembisz was born in 1937 in Poznan, to a family of workers. She has a secondary school education. She has been in the PZPR since 1976. She started her working life in 1953, as a laborer at the Poznan electric motor factory. Until, 1961 she worked at the Poznan food concentrates plant, and then at the "Stomil" tire plant, where she reached the position of production foreman in 1976. During her studies, she was active in the Polish Scouts Association. Since 1986 she has been a member of the Main Board of the PZPR factory committee in this plant. The 10th Congress made her a

Politburo candidate member. She belongs to the Suggestions and Complaints Commission of the Central Committee. She holds the Knight's Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth.

Janusz Reykowski was born in 1929 in Warsaw, to a family of intelligentsia. He has belonged to the PZPR since 1949. He graduated from the Warsaw University in 1954, and earned a doctorate in humanitarian sciences in 1959. He has belonged to the Polish Academy of Sciences since 1983. He began his educational work in 1951 as an assistant lecturer at the Warsaw University Institute of Psychology. Since 1980, he has been head of the psychological department of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He belongs to many national and international scientific societies. His research concentrates on the theories of personality and motivation. He has produced almost 100 treatises. He has received awards from the minister of science, higher education, and technology; and from the secretary of the first department of the Polish Academy of Science. He holds the Officer's Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth and the Medal of the National Education Commission.

Zdzislaw Swiatek was born in 1944 in Slupow, to a family of peasants. He was educated at the College of Mining in Dabrowa Gornicza. He has belonged to the PZPR since 1968.

Since 1962 he has worked in the "Czerwone Zaglebie" ["Red Basin"] coal mine as a miner, then as a chief miner, and then as a shift supervisor. From 1982, he was a secretary of the party committee in this mine, and at present he is the first secretary. He has belonged to the Central Committee since the 10th Congress. He is an active trade unionist.

Messner, Others Take Part in Newspaper Poll

LD3012200788 Warsaw PAP in English
1656 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Dec 30—THE EXPRESS WIECZORNY evening daily today presented answers given in a poll whose main question was: "What issue do you think to be the most important for Poland and Poles in 1989."

Here are some statements made by Polish celebrities:

Zbigniew Messner, member of the Council of State: "What is significant is a change in the economic policy so that at least basic issues included in Premier Rakowski's expose will be settled. I am wholeheartedly sympathetic to this, and if I am in a position to do something, I would like to help this as transformations of the economic system are the most important for our future."

Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), PUWP CC Political Bureau member: "It seems to me that if we want to survive in a good condition in 1989, and may it become a prosperous year for Poland and Poles, we should unite in all that is common and not speak about still existing divisions.

"If we continue to harass the economy, if we continue to deepen political and social divisions, we will quickly become a country about which other countries will have doubts whether its citizens' brains work and will pose a question whether the nearly 40-million nation is heading at annihilation. Thus, the good of the fatherland above all."

Zdzislaw Pakula, president of the National Bank of Poland (NBP): "Undoubtedly, it will be a difficult year for the Polish economy but the most significant issue should be curbing of inflationary processes and reduction of budget deficit.

"The year 1989 will also be a year of restructuring of the banking system. Nine state commercial banks will be formed, [words indistinct] companies. I would like the new banking system to turn out to be efficient and to meet requirements of the economy and society." [passage omitted]

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, lawyer, member of the Consultative Council at the President of the Council of State:

"I have already repeated many times that dialogue and reaching a genuine national agreement constitute the key to solving all our national problems. At the moment there is every reason to stands' getting closer, to the 'round table's' starting its debates.

"This is a necessity, otherwise, there are very serious social disturbances coming whose outcome may be tragic for Poland and Poles. I am very anxious about the issues of young generation. We must spare no efforts so that youth will believe in its future." [passage omitted]

Lech Walesa, leader of the former independent selfgoverning trade union "Solidarnosc": The most important is a true national agreement based on pluralistic principles in all domains of political, social and economic life. If we do not make it, we will set Poland back.

"I would like lead to this agreement in order not to let the situation evade control and to be able to peacefully solve all problems in the country. As for today, as I can see, a chance is small, my basis has got radicalised, I can hear about the radicalisation of the authority, and this does not augur anything good for us. Facing all this, I would like to find a possibility of solving problems as Pole with Pole."

Mieczyslaw Wilczek, industry minister: "The most significant is to get inflation under control and to balance market. I would also like practical effects of the laws on economic activity, adopted by the sejm, to be visible in order to fully create conditions for calm, productive and profitable work. I also count on progress in the issues of political and unionist pluralism."

Solidarity 'Militants' Criticise Walesa

*AU0401092889 Paris AFP in English
0917 GMT 4 Jan 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 4 (AFP)—Several dozen militants of the banned Polish trade union Solidarity, including some former leaders, have strongly criticised the policies of the movement's leader, Lech Walesa, informed sources said here on Wednesday.

The militants, headed by former Solidarity vice-chairman Andrzej Gwiazda, passed several resolutions at a meeting on December 18 accusing the movement's present leadership of pursuing conciliatory policies that they said were unpopular with grassroots members.

The meeting at Gdynia, in northern Poland, accused the leadership of authoritarianism and charged Mr. Walesa with "involving himself in politics at the expense of union affairs".

Solidarity leaders were "neglecting democratic procedures, violating the union's statutes, stifling information and adopting the management methods of the communists", the militants said.

Mr. Gwiazda and 15 others of Mr. Walesa's detractors were members of Solidarity's 100-strong leadership committee during the 1980-81 period prior to the imposition of martial law that drove the movement underground. The committee, since disbanded, was elected at the movement's only congress in October 1981.

The militants, numbering about 40, called for a meeting, to be held before January 30, of the former leadership committee, which it said was the union's only "freely elected" representation.

Commenting on Tuesday on reports of dissidence within Solidarity, the official government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, said he would "rather hang" himself than be considered a friend of Mr. Walesa.

At a press conference, Mr. Urban said the Solidarity dissidents had also strongly criticised government policy, but added that he hoped his mentioning of the attacks would not be "taken as a sign of political friendship" for Mr. Walesa.

Meanwhile Mr. Walesa said that he had accepted an invitation to visit Norway in May, subject to developments in Poland. The invitation was issued by a senior Norwegian official who is currently visiting Poland, reliable sources said.

Science, Culture Groups Ask for Free Elections

*LD0301185989 Vatican City International Service
in Polish 1515 GMT 3 Jan 89*

[Text] Warsaw—According to press agencies 100 Polish scientists and cultural figures have issued an appeal, presented to the authorities on 30 December last year, in which they demand free elections in Poland in 1989. The letter, copies of which were conveyed to Western press agencies, states that every Polish citizen for whom an appropriate number of voters would vote has the right to be a Sejm deputy. The signatories of the petition include 54 professors of Polish education establishments, including the rectors of the universities in Warsaw, Krakow and Gdansk. The document among others was signed by Andrzej Wajda, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Stanislaw Lem, Jan Szczepanski, Janusz Zolkowski, Aleksander Paszynski, Fr Jozef Tischner, and Juliusz Zulawski.

Confidence in Government, Support for Solidarity

*LD0301213489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1615 GMT 3 Jan 89*

[No video available]

[Text] The public opinion research center attached to Polish radio and television has conducted a poll of public moods concerning the country's situation. The results show—we read in a communique—that the dominant trend is one of increased confidence in the government. In September, 38 percent of those polled declared confidence; in December, 55 percent. Meanwhile, after the Miodowicz-Walesa television debate there was a considerable increase in public support for the legalization of Solidarity. The opinions on the country's economic situation and supplies to the market are not much changed; they are still very critical.

Satellite Communication System Expanded

*LD0101173189 Warsaw PAP in English
1501 GMT 1 Jan 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 1—The Centre of Satellite Communication in the locality of Psary near Kielce (central Poland) maintains permanent contacts with its geostationary satellites that ensure regular communication with subscribers in both Americas and in Africa.

Under way is now in the Psary Centre the installation of the "Intelsat II" which is to cover the Indian Ocean region. The operation is supervised by Japanese electronic engineers from the NEC firm. The new aerial—16M in diameter and weighing 25 tonnes—has been already erected near the 32m-high "Intelsat I" aerial. The new one will cover via satellite the Indian Ocean countries. The "Intelsat II" system will be set in motion in the second half of 1989.

New Telephone Rates Postponed Until 1 Jan

LD3112202688 Warsaw PAP in English
1907 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 31—The December 31 issue of TRYBUNA LUDU criticized the fact of raising the charges for international telephone connections as of December 10, 1988 and not disclosing that to the public. Phone owners did not know that calls carried out after that date would be accounted for according to the new price.

As the government's press bureau reports, the prime minister, having acquainted himself with the criticism, shared the opinion expressed by the PUWP CC organ that such acts are inadmissible and ordered to annul the respective ordinance and to introduce the new fees as of January 1, 1989. Payments for the calls carried out since December 10 until the end of this month will be calculated according to the old price. The premier ordered to administer disciplinary measures to those who were to blame for such a vivid disregard for citizens.

Foreign Telecommunications Price Rises

LD3012175188 Warsaw PAP in English
1635 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 30—At today's press conference the Polish Post, Telegraph and Telephone office (PPTT) representatives informed newsmen on rises in fees for foreign telecommunications services rendered by the PPTT, effective as of last Dec. 10.

The previous rises in this respect were introduced on April 15, 1987. The rises of home telecommunications services (by an average of 40 per cent) announced lately, come into effect on January 1, 1989.

At present one minute of a phone call to Britain costs 700 zlotys (previously 365 zlotys), to France—715 zlotys (370) to the FRG—680 zlotys (355), to the U.S.—1,130 zlotys (685), to the Soviet Union (Moscow)—175 zlotys (110).

One word in a telegram to Greece costs 306 zlotys (previously 158 zlotys), to Canada—195 zlotys (102).

For one minute of telex communication to the U.S. one pays 1,090 zlotys (previously 565 zlotys), to Singapore—1,960 zlotys (1,020).

Ciosek Meets With PAP Party Organizations

LD3012202588 Warsaw PAP in English
1858 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 30—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek participated here today in an open meeting held by party organizations operating at the POLISH PRESS AGENCY.

Answering newsmen's numerous questions concerning the current and expected socio-political and economic situation in the country, Ciosek stated that the passing year deepened the awareness of the need to end idle discussions and brought closer a chance for national agreement. This is proved by, among other things, public opinion polls pointing to expectations of greater stablization and firmer moves which could overcome the atmosphere of inertia.

We have to realize that the world not always is able to understand what one could define as the specific character of Polish divisions, Ciosek said. All agreements must precisely specify methods and means, and thereby relinquishments upon which the pace of overcoming the current crisis will depend, he pointed out.

The meeting also focused on the place and role of the party in the ongoing and expected social, political and economic transformations. Directions of those transformations were outlined by the 10th PUWP CC plenum guidelines, reports and discussion which took place during the first part of the party's CC plenary session.

Czyrek Speaks in Belorussia on Anniversary

LD3012234088 Warsaw PAP in English
2253 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 30:—History and eternal neighbourhood have caused that the fortunes of our nations were in close mutual association, [Jozef] Czyrek stated in an address delivered in Minsk during celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Speaking about the achievements of the Belorussian nation in recent years, Czyrek pointed out that the closeness and neighbourhood of the nations of Belorussia and Poland cause that it is easier for Poles to discern the great transformations which have taken place in Belorussia.

Referring to the Soviet perestroyka and the Polish renewal, Czyrek stressed with satisfaction that the current relations between the PUWP and the CPSU, between Poland and the Soviet Union are particularly close.

Czyrek also drew attention to the support and appreciation which the Soviet peace policy closely associated with the name of Mikhail Gorbachev enjoys in Poland. He recalled the cooperation with the Belorussian SSR in this field at the U.N. forum and within 57 international organizations which Belorussia is an active member of.

Polish-American Congress Aims Questioned

LD3012202788 Warsaw PAP in English
1824 GMT 30 Dec 88

["How Does Polish American Congress Help Poland's Farmers"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 30—"...I solemnly declare that your worries and problems will never stop being also our issues. (...) We make efforts in our actions and initiatives so as to help the country and society both immediately and in a long-term way...," Edward Moskal, president of the Polish American Congress, said in a Christmas message to compatriots in Poland, aired by Voice of America last Dec. 24.

In reply to such wonderful declarations a shower of thanks should pour on the congress. However, why are so few eager to thank? Answers may be given by Polish farmers. Three days earlier some of them may have heard on Radio Free Europe that it was just the Polish American Congress who blamed American Administration for permitting one of World Bank agencies to grant a loan for the Polish "Hortex" non-state fruit-and-vegetable processing firm.

Congress leaders, including President Moskal himself, deny thousands of compatriots-farmers the right to use new technologies until...Polish authorities relegalize 'Solidarnosc'. Indeed, this is the logic work appreciation.

And how did the congress in question receive an answer of John Whitehead, who explained the protest's authors that those 19 million dollars would contribute to expansion of the private sector of Polish economy?

The distance between Poland and the U.S. is considerable. The confrontation between Polish American Congress leaders' declarations and their conduct testifies to the often even greater distance that separates them from this country's realities.

Entry Visas for Holy See Passport Holders Lifted

LD2912234488 Warsaw PAP in English
2220 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—Following the decision of the government, the obligation to obtain Polish entrance visas for persons carrying diplomatic and official passports issued by the Holy See is lifted as of January 1, 1989.

Leaders Congratulate Cuba on Anniversary

LD3012211188 Warsaw PAP in English
2027 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 30—PUWP CC First Secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski sent a congratulatory cable to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of Cuba's Councils of State and of Ministers, to mark the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

The cable says, in part: "We would like to voice satisfaction over developing all-round relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our nations, states and parties. We are convinced that they will continue to consolidate for common good. We wish you (...) prosperity and successes in development of your motherland."

Jaruzelski Receives Envoy to USSR

LD0101171789 Warsaw PAP in English
1608 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 1—Poland's President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here on December 31, 1988, Wlodzimierz Natorf, Poland's ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Rakowski Receives Polish Envoys

LD3012211688 Warsaw PAP in English
3029 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 30—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski today received head of a Polish delegation to the Vienna CSCE meeting and the talks of the 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski.

On the same day, Premier Rakowski received Polish Ambassador to the FRG Ryszard Karski.

The prime minister received also Poland's newly appointed ambassador to the People's Republic of China Marian Wozniak.

Ceausescu Cables 'Arafat on Revolution Day

AU0301122789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1118 GMT 3 Jan 89

["On the Palestinian Revolution Day"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/1/1989—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, sent a congratulatory telegram to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the 24th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution Day, national day of the Palestinian people.

The telegram reads inter alia:

The Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Republic of Romania have always stated for the political settlement of the situation in the Middle East, for a just and lasting peace in that region, to ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination—to the creation of an independent Palestinian state included—the security and integrity of all states in the region.

In this framework, our country welcomed and recognized the new Palestinian state, considering the resolution of the Palestine National Council on the proclamation of the independent Palestinian State as a highly important act, which opens the path for a just settlement of the problems in the region, in the spirit and on the basis of the Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council.

I would like to reiterate on this occasion, too, Romania's resolve to work further in the new conditions, for the calling of a UN-sponsored international conference on Mideast questions, the sooner, to secure the political settlement of the situation in that area, the establishment of a lasting peace, the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, the security and integrity of all states in the region, of Israel included, the establishment of a climate of collaboration and good neighbourliness in that part of the globe.

I do believe that in the spirit of the meetings and talks in Bucharest, the relations of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Palestine Liberation Organization, between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples will further develop, to mutual advantage, in the interests of the cause of international peace and security.

Solidarity With Struggle of Palestinians Noted

AU0301191689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1744 GMT 3 Jan 89

["Romania—Militant Solidarity With the Just Struggle of the Palestinian People"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/1/1988—Joining the progressive public opinion all over the world, Romania marked the day of the Palestinian revolution, expressing its solidarity with the just cause of the Palestinian people and with its legitimate aspirations after living a free and peaceful life in an independent state of its own. A sincere friend of the Arab peoples, a firm supporter of their struggle for freedom, independence and progress, the Romanian people has permanently manifest its full solidarity and warm friendship with the tried Palestinian people, with its justified desiderata of self-determination, of creating a free and sovereign state. Romania has permanently taken the side of the just cause of the Palestinian people to whom it has granted multilateral—political, diplomatic and material—support. Romania is one of the first states to have acknowledged the Palestine Liberation Organization, a representation of this organization being in operation in Bucharest for many years. On each occasion, the numerous interviews and talks conducted by President Nicolae Ceausescu with Yasir 'Arafat and other members of the Palestinian National Council have gone down as reference points in the amplification of the Romanian-Palestinian relations.

By virtue of its principled, constructive stand favouring a global, lasting and just settlement to the questions of the Middle East, Romania has carried out intense foreign activity, promoting actively the interests of the Palestinian people, of all the peoples in the region, has initiated numerous demarches and has promoted wide dialogue meant to provide a fertile framework for the settlement of the explosive situation in the Middle East, to open the prospects of peace and security for all the peoples and the states of the respective zone, with positive effect on the political climate of the world. It is in this framework that on many occasions Romania has pointed out the fact that without the materialization of an independent Palestinian state just and durable peace cannot be secured in the Middle East. Romania has welcomed and acknowledged the new Palestinian State proclaimed in the latter part of 1988, considering the the Palestinian National Council's decision to proclaim the new independent Palestinian state to be a decision of special importance, which opens the path to just solutions to the problems.

On the day of the Palestinian revolution the Romanian people reasserts its feelings of warm friendship with the Palestinian people, expressing the resolve to further grant it full support in the struggle for the assertion of its legitimate national rights.

400 Persons Killed While Fleeing Country

AU3012151388 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Dec 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "A Total of 400 Romanians Killed While Fleeing"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 29 December—The border between Romania and Yugoslavia has become the bloodiest border in Europe. According to information released by the International Human Rights Association (IGFM) in Frankfurt, at least 400 persons who tried to flee Romania have been shot dead in 1988. In addition to this, it is believed that a large number drowned while trying to cross the Danube. As IGFM members discovered during investigations in the Yugoslav-Romanian border region, bodies of unknown dead refugees have frequently been washed ashore on the Yugoslav side of the Danube. According to the IGFM, the number of persons trying to flee Romania has increased since the fall. The Romanian border soldiers enforced the order to shoot without prior warning. The Romanian border troops also use bloodhounds, which often seriously injure refugees after their arrest. Persons who have been detained or sent back to Romania from Yugoslavia are usually sentenced to up to 2 years of imprisonment or forced labor camps. The IGFM deplores the fact that many refugees are not recognized as refugees by the UN high commissioner for refugees, or that they are sent back to Romania by the Yugoslav police before they can contact the UN high commissioner for refugees.

Ceausescu Sends Message to Algerian President

AU3012155488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Dec 88 p 3

[Message by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid on his reelection]

[Text] To Mr Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Algiers

On your reelection as president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, I take particular pleasure in extending warm congratulations.

I am confident that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Algeria will intensify and expand even more in the future in the interests of the Romanian and Algerian peoples and of the cause of peace, understanding, and international cooperation.

I want to take this opportunity to convey best wishes for good health and personal happiness to you, as well as wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Algerian people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

1989 Socioeconomic Development Plan Reviewed

AU0401100789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0933 GMT 4 Jan 88

["The Romanian Economy and its Development in 1989"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/1/1989—Romania's economic and social development plan for 1989, which was made into a law by the Ninth Grand National Assembly when it met in its eighth session, makes provision for the high-rate growth of the forces of production, of all branches and sectors of activity, a vigorous assertion of the revolution in science and technology and the new agrarian revolution, the most efficient utilization of the resources of the economy, the increase of the national wealth and a higher standard of living and level of civilization of the Romanian people. It is a part of the 1986-1990 programme the main aim of which is to make Romania a medium-developed socialist country.

The first thing that speaks of the higher efficiency of the Romanian economy in 1989 is the growth of the national income, larger than that of the social product. The national income is to rise 8-9 per cent from 1988, and the social product—5.5-6.5 per cent. Industry is planned not only to strengthen its position as the basic branch of the national economy but also to improve its structure. This will show in the 6-7 per cent growth of the total industrial marketable production, the growth being bigger for the key industries that can make the most of materials and work force. There is concern to further develop minerals and sources of energy, to identify and use new resources. The effort in the extractive industry is aimed at increasing the production of coal, lignite and coking pitcoal more particularly, but also of non-ferrous metals. As far as energy is concerned, there are plans to operate new power stations, use up internal resources, substantially increase the contribution of coal-fuelled stations, and use of the waterpower potential to a greater extent. In the metal, chemical and petrochemical industries, the stress falls on the best possible utilisation of raw materials, diversification of production, lower specific consumptions, a significant growth of the highly processed and worked production. In planning the production of the machine-building industry, account was taken of the priority economic programmes, of the higher volume and efficiency of exports, chiefly through the improvement of the quality and performance of production. The planned growth is significant also for the other industries. Furthermore, in line with the targets of the new agrarian revolution in Romania, great importance is attached to the intensive growth and modernization of agriculture the total production of which is planned to rise 5-5.5 per cent from 1988.

The intensive growth of the Romanian economy will have as a basis the fast promotion of the advances of science and technology in all fields. Research and development activities and the application of technological progress to production will help the implementation of the programmes pursuing the better organization and modernization of the production processes, a better utilization of the raw materials, a higher quality and performance of production, as well as an improved productivity and economic efficiency. An important role in the fulfillment of the plan is assigned to foreign trade, to Romania's active and more efficient participation in commercial exchanges and international economic cooperation. Foreign trade is planned to grow 7-8 per cent from 1988.

The growing national income and social product will show in the higher living standard. Appropriations are made under the plan for a 5.6 per cent increase of the working people's pay fund and for a two per cent rise in the farmers' incomes. In 1989, 160 thousand flats are planned to be finished, of which 40 thousand in the rural area. Education, culture, physical education and sport are to develop, and the health care and social security system to improve.

State budget appropriations are made for the implementation of the plan. The budget is balanced, with 423,473.5 million lei listed under both expenditure and revenue. An important part of the spending put at 183,373.4 million lei is used on the national economy. To fulfill the aims of raising the standard of living, and the quality of life, 107,041.8 million lei are planned for social-cultural activities.

Second Stage of Pay Increases Ends

AU0301140989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1410 GMT 3 Jan 89

["Second Pay-Rise State Comes to an End"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 3/1/1989—Starting 1 January 1989 another 450,000 working people in Romania whose monthly pay varies from 2,001 to 2,250 lei will have it raised. More specifically, the move concerns the people working in industrial units operated by people's councils, in cooperative organizations, education, culture, health and other branches of the national economy. This will bring to an end the second stage of a pay raise drive that began on 1 November last year.

In a first stage that spanned from 1 August to 1 October 1988 the working people's pay of up to 2,000 lei a month was raised. As part of that rise, the minimal pay of workers in such vital areas of the economy as mining, drilling, steelworks, machine-building, non-ferrous metallurgy, the cement industry was brought to as much as 2,414 lei. The concern was to raise the lowest incomes of people, a good part of whom are young and who have yet to complete their first year on a job.

Overall, more than 4.3 million of working people—or well over a half of their total—have had their pay raised since 1 August 1988.

Monthly pays of over 2,250 lei will gradually be raised over March-August bringing to 24.4 billion lei the total extra incomes made by working people this year.

Pensions have also been raised starting last year to benefit a large category of recipients.

As the new pay and pension rise is taking place the level of prices for consumer goods and various services has kept steady. Furthermore, higher pays and pensions leave unaffected rents, scholarships, state child benefits, etc.

Leaders' Public Appearances 25-31 Dec

AU3112190188 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 25-31 December period (Bucharest AGERPRES English sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu received well-wishers on the occasion of the New Year, in Bucharest on 29 December. (1730 GMT 29 Dec 88)

Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, as well as Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu met with chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, in Bucharest on 30 December. (1900 GMT 30 Dec 88)

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, chaired a meeting of the PEC, in Bucharest on 28 December. (1831 GMT 28 Dec 88)

Nicolae Ceausescu addressed new year well-wishers, in Bucharest on 29 December. (1734 GMT 29 Dec 88)

Nicolae Ceausescu delivered a speech during his meeting with chiefs of diplomatic missions, in Bucharest on 30 December. (1925 GMT 30 Dec 88)

Elena Ceausescu, PEC member, received Liberian delegation, in Bucharest on 28 December. (1846 GMT 28 Dec 88)

PRC's Qian Qichen Arrives, Met by Loncar

LD0401151589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] The head of the Chinese diplomatic service, Qian Qichen, has arrived on a 3-day official visit to our country. His host, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, and his assistants met Minister Qian Qichen at Belgrade airport. The Yugoslav-Chinese dialogue at the ministerial level begins, as announced, this afternoon. Loncar and Qichen are expected to devote most of their attention to bilateral relations, particularly economic cooperation between China and Yugoslavia, and to exchange opinions on current international issues.

Sundic Views Yugoslav-Chinese Relations

LD0301174989 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen is leaving tomorrow for an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia. Milika Sundic comments:

[Sundic] PRC foreign Minister Qian Qichen's reciprocal visit to Yugoslavia, is in perfect line with the already established tradition of friendly contacts and the exchange of views at various levels between China and our country. Saying this, we (primarily) bear in mind that Yugoslav-Chinese relations are not burdened either at state or party level with any kind of problems. The ones which once existed have been overcome a long time ago completely in accordance with the mutual interests of our two countries.

China and Yugoslavia cooperate successfully in many fields and have similar or identifical views on many current problems in the modern world and certainly on ways to overcome them. While saying this, one must bear in mind above all that both China and Yugoslavia, each in line with its capabilities, are fighting for lasting and stable peace in the world, for disarmament and above all for the peaceful resolution of disputes. Both countries also support the process of thawing in relations between the superpowers and military blocs, convinced that only cooperation on equal terms is the right way to remove the obstacles which still block the way to this. Both China and Yugoslavia have confirmed on a great number of occasions that peace in the world must not be confined within any borders, be they political, military or ideological, and that peace between countries and nations ought to be universal, regardless of the differences between social systems.

Such a policy by China and Yugoslavia has contributed toward other similar international results in resolving even the most sensitive disputes, such as relations between China and the USSR and between China and India. The Chinese do not, for instance, hide the fact that Yugoslavia has (set an example) in many areas and this is further confirmed by China's positive assessments of Yugoslavia belongs. In this connection it has to be said that China has sincerely hailed the decision which made Yugoslavia host of the ninth summit of nonaligned countries and that it has a friendly and sympathetic attitude to our efforts to overcome economic difficulties.

Since, as we have said, there are no unresolved problems in the relations between China and Yugoslavia, the talks which will be held in Belgrade between Qian Qichen and Budimir Loncar will be devoted in the first place to the current international situation, starting from the initial assessment that the past year, 1988, has yielded significant results in the area of resolving international problems and that this year which we have hardly begun promises even more. Qian Qichen, let us recall, has recently been to Moscow and on that occasion he and his Soviet hosts reached an agreement in principle on Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China. This is a great advancement in relations bethween the two great countries; one which confirms that even the deepest disagreements can be removed provided there is goodwill and respect for the principles of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs. Yugoslavia greets sincerely such a positive change of direction in relations between China and the USSR, convinced that this represents a contribution to better understanding among socialist countries. In any case Qian Qichen's visit will mark yet another page in the successful development of Yugoslav-Chinese relations and the firm stance of both countries to work, both jointly and (separately), to strengthen world peace.

'Mikulic's Fall' Viewed as 'Turning Point'

AU0301131389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 31 Dec 88 p 3

[Drago Buvac commentary: "It Is Not Yet Clear Whether Mikulic's Fall Is Also the Fall of Reform"]

[Text] Branko Mikulic' fall is not only an inglorious end of a political career that was brilliant at the beginning and tragic at the end, but also a significant turning point in the Yugoslav crisis, on the one hand because it may be heralding the failure of the political system and practice, through which he was able to rise without end and then (even) remained 2 and ½ years at the head of a government that carried out a completely erroneous economic policy. On the other side of this turning point the opportunity beckons that such a past may be overcome.

If we look at the matter from this point of view, it would perhaps be best to immediately tackle the question of what is in store for us after Mikulic's fall rather that what went on before. A brief summary of the past in this context therefore makes sense only as a warning, or rather a guideline, as to what it to be done so that similar mistakes are not repeated in the future and that we do not miss the opportunity again.

Looking strictly from an economic point of view, neither the premier with his personal professional qualities nor the team that he set up, from the very beginning gave any hope that they are a skilled group up to the implementation of a anti-inflationary policy. The very first steps within the framework of the programmed inflation plan—when he reduced the real rate of interest and increased the dinar rate of exchange—could not lead us to the promised land of lower prices. Domestic economists warned in vain that this economic policy was completely erroneous, and Western bankers threw up their hands.

Mikulic did not care for either. He considered the domestic critics as politically and ideologically malicious; he had more faith in the strength of his political will than in economic laws and he promised that his government would never again submit to the dictate of the IMF, under the slogan "good-bye stand-by" [phrase published in English]. For 6 months he wondered why our economy rejected his "extended hand," because the rapidly growing inflation even exceeded the rate he had inherited.

Without considering the consequences he abandoned the erroneous concept of programmed inflation, and then verbally swore by the market even more; he again believed in the power of his political will and thought that a market could be introduced through price and wage freezes, and through changing the relationships of prices, goods, services, and the factors of production. Instead of a market, we therefore had more and more state regulations and administrative chaos. Well-known by the failed anti-inflation programs and empty promises of economic reform, he substituted his professional impotence with skillful political acting now on one side and then on another. With the professionally poor administrative elimination of the price disequilibria he first caused quarrels between the north and the south, and he tried to woo the workers class with the occasional opening of the valves for higher personal incomes because of his political fear of strikes.

Such an inconsistent policy had to bring him to the door of the IMF and the Western creditors sooner or later. His government extended its tenure not only under their pressure but also because of his own growing realization and need, and resorted to a completely new anti-inflation policy, also known as the May Measures with their three "anchors." Mikulic found himself in a quandary here, too.

If he wanted to carry out the May Measures, he had to and could obtain the support of those who until then were clamoring for his resignation (Slovenia and Croatia). It was ultimately shown that he could not use this opportunity even professionally, so that now, with inflation exceeding 300 percent, he has everybody against him: both those that used to support him and the others who used to be against him. Nobody backed Mikulic anymore, not even his own republic, in which for other reasons he even lost his political authority. Finally, his government, which was constantly obstructed by something—either the republics or the Constitution—was shown to be professionally and administratively incapable of making the economic reform operational by the beginning of 1989 even after the new constitutional amendments.

For some time to come, even more exact chroniclers and critics of all these Mikulic economic measures will find it interesting to search for an answer to the question how it was possible that a government which was constantly losing battles in front of everybody could vegetate for so long up to the stage when it substituted its professional ignorance with political bureaucratic arrogance. Perhaps the answer can be found in Mikulic's political skill and toughness; he knew well how to hide behind his republic (criticism of Mikulic was equated with an attack on Bosnia-Hercegovina), he skillfully played the game of the protector of interests of the financially bankrupt republics and Kosovo, he fawned on this or that part of the workers class or the army structure, but he nevertheless took care to remain as clean as possible regarding his market transformations. He was against a pure liberal market, exploitation, and monopolies, and in favor of a unified Yugoslav market, and he saw the main reasons for his unsuccessful economic policy in the independence of the republics and provinces.

If we analyze his "political constituency" and its ideology, we may note that Mikulic was in fact the best exponent of the politocratic structure that pushed him to the surface in 1985 when Milka Planinc's anti-inflation program had failed and that tried to keep him up subsequently. Without entering into all the causes and methods of settling the accounts in our various communities, it may be said that Mikulic was declining to the same extent as the said politocracy was losing its positions. He could have been saved only by the success of his economic policy, especially a reduction of inflation, which however was a task that he was not up to.

This thesis can best be illustrated with an example. In addition to a restrictive monetary and credit policy, the a, b, c of any anti-inflation policy are political will, strength, and ability to resolve the problem of state expenditure in the widest sense of the world. Mikulic's team was not capable of any of these prerequisites of fiscal policy, and therefore, it was unable to secure the support even of that politocratic establishment that brought Mikulic to the head of the government, because granting such support would be its funeral. A premier like Mikulic again could not oppose this politocracy himself, and therefore it is no accident that the final act of his fall ran in the Federal Assembly precisely at the time when budget spending was being discussed.

From this point of view, the question now arises from which positions Mikulic was overthrown; and this contains the answer to (another) question regarding on which positions the new government will be attempted to be set up.

In addition to the general popular dissatisfaction because of the crisis, which has reached the boiling point—as is increasingly evident in the vertiginous increase of inflation and sharp criticism of his economic policy by economists— even the last political bureaucratic structures, along with the support of a broadened front of reform forces, lifted their hands from Mikulic who disappointed them because he did not fulfill their expectations. In fact he could never fulfill them, because it is impossible to reduce inflation while at the same time supporting inflated state-building structures and their spending. Therefore, there have been recently more and more requests for Mikulic's resignation even by his erstwhile supporters, but the requests called for a government that will abandon the May Measures, tame the republican interests, and thus carry out a more centralized economic policy, thus meeting the real-socialist demands of those groups of the workers class that are not prepared to confirm the value of their labor in the domestic and foreign markets. Precisely this part of our political bureaucratic structure that had protected Mikulic until now, will use its strong influence to strive for a successor in its own image and in accordance with its interests, although a new round of lost battles against inflation will have to be started.

If it could not happen at the right time, Mikulic perhaps fell somewhat too early. The reform forces have not yet fortified the broad Yugoslav front, a contest of interrepublican forces has taken place on the political scene, and the last ideological blockades erected against a market economy have not yet been destroyed. Under such circumstances it would not be good if a strong political figure (with dubious professional qualifications) reached the premiership, for this could prejudice some solutions of the economic reform and of the political system in general.

The best person for the election as new premier would therefore be the professionally- and economically-best-qualified man, with a public committment to the market, who would freely form his professional team to wage the struggle against our greatest economic problem, our inflation, and to activate and legislate the basic principles of market economy reform on this basis.

Vojvodina Citizens Hold Protest Meeting

LD3012144088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Dec (TANJUG)—Several tens of citizens from Vojvodina municipalities gathered this morning in front of the Belgrade offices of Vjesnik. They met to protest an article in the Zagreb daily and other publications of the Zagreb newspaper publishing organization on the situation in Vojvodina and Serbia.

Later, and with the same purpose, participants in the protest meeting had talks in the Municipal Committee of the LC of Savski Venac, where the [word indistinct] offices of VJESNIK in Belgrade are located.

Leaders of Demonstrations Sentenced

LD3012164088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Skopje, 30 Dec (TANJUG)—A council of five of the district court in Skopje, chaired by the judge Aleksandar Bosnjakovski, sentenced today eight organizers of Gostivar secondary school demonstrations. The demonstrations were held at the beginning of October of this year and their aim was to prevent formation of mixed classes in the pance Popovski center for vocational education.

First defendent Ajredin Kaza, 32, was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment for the criminal act of association for the purpose of enemy activity and in connection with the criminal act of counterrevolutionary endangering the social order. Nazif Zinani, 29, from Gostivar and Zulcufli Dalipi, 29, from Korito village near Gostiva were sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment. Imrli Bektesij, 19, from Korito village was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment. The council of five of the district court in Skopje sentenced to 4-6 years of imprisonment four underaged pupils of Pance Popovski center in Gostivar.

This group—as established during the investigation—formed in the summer an enemy organization, the Freedom Society, [Shochata Iliris]. this group organized enemy demonstrations with the aim of preventing formation of mixed classes in the pance Popovski center for vocational education in Gostivar. Their demands for education being conducted solely in Albanian were just a screen for their true intentions.

The ideological leader of this group was Ajredin Kaza, who was previously in prison for 6 years for taking part in enemy activities. At the meetings of this enemy organization, proposals to form an armed group to act in case of 'conflict with the police' were discussed in connection with organizing demonstrations.